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26 August 1985

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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26 August 1985

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HAVEL TALKS ABOUT PRISON EXPERIENCE

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 12 Jun 85 p 3

[Article by Peter Larsson]

[Text] Vaclav Havel is one of the most outstanding dramatists in the world. He also is a daring fighter for human freedom and human rights--an activity that has led him to prison on several occasions.

His latest stay in prison ended during the spring of 1983 when he was suddenly released without any explanation. His release had been preceded, however, by an extensive campaign in the Western press.

When he was released, he still had 8 months to serve of his 4.5-year sentence. He still does not know if he has been released unconditionally. The uncertainty on this point means that he still runs the risk of being sent back to prison.

While in prison, he waged a continuous battle for the right to continue writing. His experience from this struggle and from his time in prison has lifted his writing to new heights. Since his release, he has published a remarkable essay, Politics and Conscience, which also was read as his lecture when he received an honorary doctorate at the University of Toulouse in the spring of 1984. In April his latest play, Largo Desolato, enjoyed an extremely successful premiere in Vienna at the Akademietheater.

Freelance journalist and Czechoslovakia expert Peter Larsson of Lund interviewed Vaclav Havel recently at a cafe in downtown Prague.

You were in prison for almost 4 years. Your experiences in prison had a strong impact on your work. I believe that this experience has changed your views in a decisive manner. The situation both in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere in the world have affected you. Can you tell us something about prison conditions and what they meant to you?

"I was strictly prohibited from writing freely in prison. I could not have

paper or take notes. I could not even keep an innocent diary on my experiences. As you know, this became more and more difficult for me with time. As a writer, I have a need to write. To me, writing is simply a form of self-realization. In other words, it is a big part of my life."

"It was not so hard on me the first few months, but gradually I became irritated because I could not create and formulate my ideas and impressions in written form. Jiri Dienstbier, Vaclav Benda, Rudolf Battek, and other friends of mine among the political prisoners and I attempted to utilize the only possibility available. We demanded our right to send letters. In these letters I tried somehow to say more than just what Olga, my wife, should do for me and what she should put in the small packages we were allowed to receive. Eventually these letters, which were still legal, assumed the form of quasi-essays. But this was no simple matter and involved serious difficulties."

"We had the right to write one letter each week, but its content was limited. It had to be written in a form that the prison authorities could read. In addition, there were certain graphic regulations that must be met. I could not speak of concepts, nor could I make notes or keep copies of the letters. All this made writing extremely difficult. The biggest problem, however, was the censor. The prison censor was extremely strict. You could only write about family matters. The strictest prohibition was against writing on prison conditions, how I was serving my time, and similar matters. My attempts during the first years to smuggle my thoughts into the letters led to constant conflicts with the prison authorities who stopped my letters for a time and refused to mail them. On many occasions, they punished me for this by putting me in isolation and depriving me of various privileges. Eventually, by stubbornness alone, I was able to include my own thoughts about matters great and small in my letters. Of course, these conditions are reflected in my letters. My thought process is often complicated, muddled, and unclear."

"In general, time in prison makes a person devote more time to questions that otherwise are ignored. These questions include what we are doing here, why we are here, and other questions of that nature. When you are shut off from various concrete experiences, pleasures, cultural events, and blocked off from everything that fills our lives when we are living in freedom, when we are surrounded by gray walls, we are forced to deal with issues that otherwise are invisible in our natural environment. For this reason, I started to 'philosophize,' although I have had no philosophical training. That led to such thoughts as responsibility for human identity, but also to thoughts about the theatre and other cultural means of expression."

"My friend Lopatka, who published these letters for Edice Petlice (Haglas Publishers), thought the book should contain not only meditative and philosophical passages, but also my private thoughts, such as the importance of visits, which were allowed for 1 hour each quarter, or the passage in which I asked my wife to take care of certain matters. In other words, he thought that passages concerning everyday matters should be included in the book. Lopatka believed that this concrete information would provide a good complement to the picture of the special conditions from which my more general reflections

grew. At first I opposed the idea, but I changed my mind when I saw the finished product. The result was a book by Hanglas Publishers and a shorter version of the same book published by Rowohlt under the title Letters to Olga."

Charter 77 has existed for 8 years. Can you give a brief picture of the present conditions of Charter 77 and its future tasks?

"I could talk for hours on end on this topic, but I will limit myself to one footnote. This is a matter of current interest, since it was caused by a recent experience. Not long ago I had the opportunity to see a TV film by Zdena Tominova (shown on Swedish TV in 1984), who also signed Charter 77. Some time later, however, she was forced to emigrate to England. She wrote a docudrama on the early days of the Charter and described it on the basis of her own personal experience, i.e. how she came into contact with the movement, her experiences with it, and why she finally decided to emigrate. The film is several years old, but I had the opportunity to see it only recently."

"I found it interesting, among other things, because it reminded me of the atmosphere during the first months of Charter 77. We worked in an atmosphere that was characterized by the wild reaction of the authorities in the form of constant police actions and an extremely bitter and vulgar campaign against the Charter in the mass media. But these first months were also characterized by a romantic enthusiasm among the signers of the Charter. People who had not known each other previously came together, even though they had little in common. They came from various groups and all had different experiences."

"A sense of community suddenly developed among them, since they had all signed this manifesto. As a result, they also shared the same fate. There was a very special feeling during those first months, or let us say the first year. It could be called the heroic time of the Charter. Today the Charter is 8 years old and this makes it the oldest human rights movement in the entire Eastern bloc. Of course, much has changed since then. The film by Zdena Tominova indicates that the feeling and climate are different today. The number of arrests has dropped, but the initial enthusiasm has also declined. Despite this, however, the Charter is alive and continues to work, although it is living a less spectacular day-to-day life. But it is still carrying out the task it set for itself. It is true to its original goal, although less is now said and heard about it. This change, which is understandable and logical, does not mean that the Charter is irrelevant. The opposite is closer to the truth. Today it is probably playing a greater role than during the initial period. Its role in society is probably greater today than when it first started."

In 1984 you were given an honorary doctorate from the University of Toulouse. In connection with this, you wrote a text that was read at the ceremony when you received the honorary doctorate. That speech has attracted much attention. I would like to ask you, first of all, why you did not receive that honor in person and, secondly, if your speech received any attention in Czechoslovakia?

"I did not go personally to receive my award for the simple reason that I

accept no invitations from abroad for fear that I would not be permitted to return, even if I received permission to go."

"I would be deprived of my Czechoslovak citizenship during my stay in the West. This is completely legal according to the Czechoslovak Constitution. For this reason, I did not go to Toulouse. Instead, I wrote a speech that I sent there in which I attempted to summarize the questions I have contemplated in recent times, primarily after my release from prison."

"Here, I link together several of my experiences: my amateur philosophizing in prison, certain experiences after my release, the influence of my reading the works of the Czech philosopher in exile Vaclav Belohradsky, and conversations with Western intellectuals and representatives of the peace movement. I have had many such conversations at this point. All this resulted in a synthesis that I attempted to present in this speech. Since it has been presented by several foreign radio broadcasters in the Czech language, this text has received much publicity, even in Czechoslovakia. It has received a surprisingly positive reaction--surprising even to me."

"I am not saying this to brag, but because I used this text to express something that was in the air. It was something that many people thought or felt, just as I did, although they were either unwilling or unable to express it in the same manner. When a Swede or other reader reads this text, he must understand that it is not an isolated voice, but that the text clearly expresses opinions shared by many."

In recent years Charter 77 has become more and more involved in peace issues. For example, you attempted to participate in the peace conference of 1983 that was organized by the government. You have also made a number of statements in which you have been sharply critical of the Western peace movements. You have criticized them for a lack of "symmetry," i.e. they have been unwilling to link the peace issue with the issue of human rights. You have claimed that, without such a linkage, the peace work will lead to peace in concentration camps. You have also criticized them for their cooperation with the official peace movements here in the East. How do you view the peace movements today?

"Several years ago various organizations, including a number of Western peace movements, made contact with Charter 77. Personally, I believe these contacts are extremely valuable and I appreciate the dialog with these movements. We all have different points of departure, but the future of Europe, of the entire world, is a common concern for everyone and the better people understand one another across bloc boundaries, the deeper their contacts, and the better people are able to reach common opinions and positions, the better conditions will be for solving these problems. In addition, I believe that these peace movements, as different as they are, are ultimately related to Charter 77 and its activities. They bring together people who are not indifferent to the fate of the world. These people do not think only of themselves and their own lives, but they are also concerned about the sad state of affairs in the world and are trying to improve it. This is what we are trying to do here, as well, under different conditions and with different methods. This is why I

believe that these contacts are meaningful and good."

"At the same time, I would say that this attitude--mine and that of my friends--is always more or less critical and, for this reason, we do not always unreservedly identify ourselves with everything these Western peace movements--which, by the way, are disparate movements--do or say. Thus, our identification with them is critical and reserved. If we disagree on certain matters, we say this openly to our friends in the West. For example, we disagree totally with the idea of pacifism in its classical meaning, according to which unilateral disarmament would persuade the other side to stop its own arms buildup. Unfortunately, we cannot share this belief, since our own bitter experience has taught us that things do not usually work this way."

"We also believe that, in many cases, the peace movements simply react to the consequences of current conditions in the world, but seldom think about the true causes of these conditions. For my part, I believe we must always think about causes and analyze things on the basis of their true nature instead of doing what is often done, namely reacting to the consequences, for example, of the construction of some new launching pad. First of all, we must ask why and for whom they are being built and what facts in today's reality have led to their construction. Then we must figure out how to oppose these facts. After all, launching pads in themselves are simply harmless objects. Instead, we must all think about why and against whom they are being installed and, perhaps most of all, why people are prepared to use these launching pads."

"Our attitude is, so to speak, one of both sympathy and cooperation, although we, for our part, maintain a critical attitude. We will never renounce our own experience, opinions, or positions in order to achieve some symbolic unity."

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CSO: 3650/280

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

WORKERS JOIN IN COMPLAINTS

Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech 13 Jul 85 pp 1,7

[Text] Hard Truth is Better

I do not think that I am exaggerating, but as I have been able to observe in my place of work, great discussions have been going on for some time, particularly on Mondays, about the Saturday edition of the daily RUDE PRAVO and its supplements. If I were to express an opinion, not only mine but also that of my coworkers, it is good, and personally we are all rooting for you. The editorial "With Greater Resolve Against Dishonest People" was discussed at great length, and "Honest Attitude Toward Common Interests", one of the latest editorials which concerns norms and norm setters, was not favorably received, but that is not the point of this letter. I wish to refer to the article "A Worker Speaks" which was signed by Tibor Kovacik from Hradec Kralove. I put the article up on the bulletin board and I can say straight away--the interest was enormous, plenty of talk, but . . . . I heard that people thought it has been edited, that it was surely longer, more substantial. I do not know if it is true (the article was not abbreviated--ed). There were many comments of various kinds--I am not competent to write on behalf of the collective, but the conclusion was roughly this: You think that something will change? Don't make me laugh! They are probably not much interested in what the workers think, and if they are, than only so that it could be said that nothing was being done about it." (All these words prove the opposite--ed).

It so happens that in key functions there are some incompetent people, but they have power, and together with other "competent" ones they make the critic's life "hell on earth."

There are so many things, so many questions which are waiting for an answer. True, we could be mistaken, but who is to say--you are wrong? I think that if all of us would learn, even a bitter truth, then we could win over especially the young people to other ways, rather than just going to pub, drinking beer, breaking shop-windows, etc.

(Otokar Cmiral, Frydek-Mistek)



## A Strange Set of Values

I have been working in construction since 1983, for the last 15 years as chief fitter and party and trade union functionary, so that I am well acquainted with people's attitude toward manual labor, be it physically or technically demanding. But it seems as if this attitude was somehow missing respect and esteem for creative work, which is and will be indisputably the most important in human life. Perhaps it was also a mistake that in our society the question of education has been placed in an entirely wrong perspective, which led to a situation where a graduation certificate from this or that school is viewed administratively, bureaucratically, and in some instances the requirements for appropriate education are not even logically substantiated. It is not just by chance that comrade Kovacik in his article (A Worker Speaks--1.6.1985) points out the formalism of some managers and functionaries who, even while considering themselves to be educated people, make it their policy never to try to learn from workers and prefer to travel constantly to meetings that do not accomplish anything or to compile formal and useless charts or reports.

It is a great loss for our whole society that the set of values for many people shifted toward petty bourgeois attitudes--chasing after titles, positions, functions and high fixed salaries (not requiring any exertion, if possible). I am firmly convinced, however, that the people of our republic who are truly concerned about the prosperity of the economy and contentment of all the people, and are in a position to have a say in management, will make every effort to give the floor once again in our factories, construction sites, and offices to real experts--honest and industrious people with skills and a sense of responsibility, real "pros" in the best sense of the word.

(Jaroslav Kalab, Brno)

## Start With Your Visor Open

Even I, though already 61 years old, am of the same opinion as Comrade Maly (HALO SOBOTA of 1.5) and Kovacik. I have been and still am a glass worker, today a working pensioner, and as a laborer I am performing even today a number of functions, understandably unpaid. I am a member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and I have never been ashamed of my convictions, on the contrary, I know how to express them everywhere I go, perhaps even in the newspapers. According to my experience only a certain part of our member base--unfortunately--is able to speak and write about it publicly.

I belong to the generation which experienced Munich and the Second World War, sometimes even in penitentiaries. Therefore I certainly have the right to express my opinion of our current developments, and to embrace even opinions that are radical but necessary if we are to rectify some rather bad things in our country. First of all, we are concerned about an overgrown administration and a shortage of people in the manufacturing process. For example, in the municipal enterprise ZES-Plant 2-Tepere, following the departure of Vietnamese workers we were unable to get women to work in our waxworks, with the result that plans for production and export of waxed costume jewelry to Western



markets remain unfulfilled. On the one hand, you will find more people than are necessary in enterprises and offices, on the other hand there is a shortage. Something has to be done about it. Here work goes looking for people, whereas in the West people have to go looking for work, often without the option to choose where they are to be placed. Yes, we certainly need educated workers who meet the standards of the times, but let us not forget the need for practice and skill in a trade! How proud we used to be in the past of the "golden Czech hands" of our workers! Today, theory takes precedence over practice, but how long is it going to take before a theoretician become a good practicing worker? An so here we are back to the core of the matter: an apprentice will complete his apprenticeship--he will receive his apprenticeship certificate and will have a comparatively good theoretical knowledge. But he is short on practice, and then complaints about quality and lack of skill will follow.

I am aware that some of these words are aimed at us, workers, but the main fault lies elsewhere, directly with the supervisory units as well as with the foremen and production managers. Unfortunately, they overlook many things, and that they should not do. The quality of work, for one. This bad practice really started with them, and a radical remedy is called for. I am rooting for the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Gorbachev, who addressed these questions quite openly and is trying to achieve reforms in the entire labor system.

Certainly life is not bad in our country, but why could not we in this complicated international situation live far better than any of the capitalist countries? These are certainly strong words, but indeed socialism has the capacity for it. It is only necessary to put it consistently into practice in all aspects of our life. And just as comrade Tibor Kovacik, I would like to see more of our people who work as manual laborers speak up on this subject. After all, we have to begin somewhere. By speaking openly, to start with.

(Robuslav Stransky, Alsovice)

#### Bitter Taste in the Mouth

Toward the end of 1984 I stopped working and now I am already receiving a pension. The experiences I had during my working days fully confirm what the author of the article "A Worker Speaks" is saying. A good number of foremen and economists with whom I came into contact in the plant were deficient in expertise and organization skills. There were also problems with management and responsibilities for labor output. The consequences were numerous rejects, frequent falling behind in the plan and disgust on the part of the workers.

Shortfalls were then resolved almost regularly by crash programs--special shifts (particular when managers were concerned about their bonuses). Production sessions, where this was being pointed out and many other shortcomings criticized, became a farce because workers' suggestions were mostly ignored by the superiors. Of the many points of criticism I will

mention one which speaks for everything. In 1983 we had two injuries in my place of work. But it was only a year later, after many reminders at production sessions, that a first aid dispensary was installed in our workplace where one was not available until then. What can one say to that?

Or let us look at the contacts between the managers and the workers. In the 5 years that I spent working at the plant, not one of the leading economists came to talk to us--workers--informally about our problems. They would have surely learned many useful things that would have helped them considerably in their work. The worst thing about this, however, was the fact that even the functionaries of the factory-wide committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement were strangers to this type of work. I think that it was just this unfamiliarity with the problems of the workplace that put the party organization in the role of an outsider, and as a consequence shortcomings multiplied and continued year after year without anyone trying to remedy them.

What I am writing about proves how deeply formalism and bureaucratism are entrenched in the work of managers and functionaries. It occurs to me that if only 80 percent of communists has been working according to party precepts in an exemplary fashion, we would be today! I have been a party member since 1945 and believe it or not, nobody has ever asked me during evaluations if I work according to standards. Rather they asked me if I pay my party contributions properly, if I attend meetings regularly, and if I participate in discussions at the meetings. Although work accomplished should be the main criterium for evaluating every communist.

Why are not only the positive but also the negative results of functionaries's work publicized? In this respect anonymity and unaccountability still are flourishing . . . . .

I think that workers and mid-level management cadres work according to the way they are managed, controlled and evaluated, rewarded or punished, as the case may be. Simply and clearly it can be summed up by saying "as the boss goes, so goes the shop."

(Ludvik Wolansky, Sumperk)

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CSO: 2400/517

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED CANT CRITICIZED AS INCOMPREHENSIBLE

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 110, 24 Jul 85 pp 2-3

[Article datelined IWE Berlin 24 Jul 85: "The Cares of an Old Line Communist in the GDR"]

[Text] For workers in the GDR, the stilted and hackneyed jargon of SED functionaries is barely understandable. This assertion was made by a long time communist and pensioner in a tape recorded biography transcribed by Wolfgang Herzberg. The East Berlin journal, NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR, just published a preprint from the book "So war es--Lebensgeschichten von 1900-1980" [That's How It Was--Biographies From 1900-1980], which is to be published next winter by the Mitteldeutscher Verlag in Halle and Leipzig. In it, the chemical worker "Gustav R.," born in 1902 and a communist since 1928, emphasizes that "people ought to speak in more human language, they ought not to give such pompous orations." When people send a comrade to the party school these days, "and the fellow comes back and talks in such big words and bombast, then they don't understand him at all." Then the workers say at the close of the meeting: "Man, what did he tell us? I didn't catch a thing he said." People can talk like that "in certain circles," but not with a simple worker, not with a simple ex-housewife who works on the production line, he said.

The retiree termed the training of GDR citizens for communism a "difficult problem." Man must "sometimes be trained to be an idealist, after all--to become a fine human being." But many people are "still a lot of materialists." He said that one only has communism when things are going well for everybody, but that things are not, after all, going well for everybody. It's becoming "sort of a habit for us," but people are still "sometimes drawing enormous distinctions." The training to turn people into a "We" is not progressing all that quickly. There are still "too many 'I' people," they are "simply the materialists--they aren't getting enough." He said there has to "be a limit sometime, surely."

For the old line comrade, private craftsmen in the GDR are a thorn in the side. He says that sometimes a craftsman can become a millionaire, and that that "really isn't right." The man couldn't become a capitalist or exploiter any more, that's "prohibited, after all," but he does acquire a fortune, anyway, and that's not what socialism is for.

CSO: 2300/483

HUNGARY

# STANDARDIZATION, UNIFICATION WITHIN WARSAW PACT

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian 15 Jun 85 p 5

[Article by Laszlo Damo: "Standardization in the NATO and the Warsaw Pact Alliance Systems"]

[Excerpt] The tasks of uniformization and standardization are to be carried out by the Committee of Defense Ministers, the Military Council of the Unified Armed Forces [EFE], the EFE Technical Organization under the leadership of the Deputy for Arms of the EFE, and the Council of Military Scientific-Technical Council.

The Director of the EFE Technical Organization has a deputy delegated from each country. The organization is in close contact with the Permanent Committee for the Defense Industry of the COMECON and it prepares recommendations for the arms and technical systems of the armed forces of member countries. It studies the condition and direction of development of the weapons and technologies of member country armed forces. On the basis of mutual adjustment, it promulgates rules for the coordination of research and experimental construction activities.

The tasks of the Military Scientific-Technical Council that functions beside the chief commander's deputy for arms is to examine the most important recommendations made by the Technical Organization and to make appropriate decisions.

A good example for the uniformization and standardization is the unified air defense system of the member countries. This system includes identical radio-technical, domestic air defense, and fighter plane technologies. Direction systems, training, outfitting, and material-technical support are all uniform. The same can be said of the weapons systems of the land forces.

For example, the situation is similar at the rocket units and higher units of higher land units and divisions. At tank, artillery, chemical defense, and telecommunications units the standardized technology of the higher units was established. During the different exercises--Danube, Shield, Federation, Arms Friendship--and during coalitional groupings, all these substantially facilitated the mutual coordination of troops of different nationalities, their management, fight involvement, and material-technical support.

The armed forces of the Warsaw Pact countries are at a special advantage with the standardized organizational system. From subunits to divisions, the organization of the units is identical in each country. For example, a tank or artillery regiment consists of identical number of tanks or guns in each allied army. This facilitates their management and the resolution of problems.

For the armed forces of Warsaw Pact countries the common cadre training has a special significance beyond ideological unity; it is most important that officers and generals of member countries have been studying for decades at the various learning institutions of the Soviet Union. This is the basic assurance for successful fulfillment of the obligations of the alliance. Member armed forces, including the Hungarian People's Army, have reached the point in cadre training, where they are able to accept officers of other countries in their military academies. The professional work of the commanders' and teachers' corps of Soviet learning institutions is of exceptional level. They have trained--and are training at high levels--indefatigably for decades our cadres, who are implementing the tasks of uniformization and standardization.

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HUNGARY

EUROPEAN PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE TALKS: FRG, GDR, AUSTRIA, HUNGARY

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Jul 85 p 3

[Unsigned article: "Austro-Hungarian Cultural Negotiations"]

[Text] The Minister of Culture, Bela Kopeczi, met with two members of the Austrian government in Vienna, Herbert Moritz, the Minister of Public Education, and Heinz Fischer, the Minister of Science and Research. As Bela Kopeczi reported, in the course of the pleasant meeting, they agreed, among other things, to organize a Hungarian cultural week next spring in Vienna. Guest performances will be given by the corps de ballet of the Hungarian State Opera and several of our artists, and an exhibition of Hungarian fine arts will also be opened. A similar Hungarian series of events was last organized in Vienna around the middle of the 1970's; as a response, in 1987 Budapest will host an Austrian cultural week.

In 1986 the Austrian capital city will host the Congress of the International Association for Hungarian Studies. Under the leadership of Dr Richard Plaschka, member of the Academy, a scientific and educational committee is being prepared; its goal is to coordinate the activities of every scientific institution in Austria that is interested in Hungarian topics, and to advance the work of information and documentation, relying on the cooperation of the Collegium Hungaricum in Vienna. Austrian and Hungarian historians researching the development of the workers' movement will once again meet in Vienna in 1986. Bela Kopecai also pointed out that there was also talk about a conference bringing together the presidents of those Austrian and Hungarian universities which maintain contractual cooperation, with the aim of intensifying their joint activities.

Bela Kopecai was invited to Vienna by Chancellor Fred Sinowatz, in order to participate in the Wednesday debate concerning peaceful coexistence and cultural cooperation in Europe. His partners in this pioneering debate will be Chancellor Sinowatz, the initiator of the meeting, Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, the Minister of Culture of the GDR, and Peter Glotz, the managing director of the West German Social Democratic Party. The debate will be supervised by the French writer Francois Bondy and Ivan Boldizsar.

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HUNGARY

# IMPROVED METHODS OF PARTY WORK 'DEBATED'

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by Lajos Reszegi, 1st Party Secretary of Hajduboszormeny:  
"Association Work in Party Organizations"]

[Text] Subsequent to the 12th Party Congress, and then during the discussions about how to execute the decisions of the 13th Congress, a chronically recurring topic was the working method. Indeed, it is important to decide what is the most effective and most consistent way to implement the decisions made by us and by the higher authorities. At the same time, the main question remains: What justifies the modernization of even the proven methods and the introduction of new ones into our practice?

## From Practice--To Practice

If we look around, we can state that in our party Leninist principles are applied to the working methods, and that we are trying to realize the goals of correct policies by using correct methods. In other words, we don't have to "invent" something new or change our methods every day. However, even the practice-proven methods are worth testing in the lights of new demands, because the work-style of our party is constantly enriched by new elements. Obviously the various factors, reform efforts, and societal changes--such as those in the economic mechanism--also stimulate the regular refreshment of our political methods.

We are not talking about campaigns, but rather about processes that are formed by practice, and which in turn are called upon to influence practice. Many of our questions in directing our analyses toward this topic focus on association activities. This is important, because--as we all know--our party is guided by the principle of collective, that is, associated leadership. Policies are shaped by associations, determining the main questions of direction and control, but at the same time the responsibility of party functionaries in the execution of policies is also significant.

The practice of association leadership is closely tied in with the implementation of party democracy; executing this task can also be effective only if the principles of democracy are respected. In connection with this, recently we held discussions with the leaders and membership of various organizations and associations, including the activists of the committee for party-building,

secretaries of the leadership and of the basic cells, members of the party committee, and communist leaders active in the party apparatus and in the other mass organizations. The atmosphere during these discussions was good, the tone was sincere, and there was criticism as well as self-criticism voiced. Everyone was glad that we turned to them for their opinion, and there were a number of comments and proposals expressed. Subsequently, having also examined public opinion in this city, we summed up the results of these discussions. One of the most frequently expressed questions was the following: "What is our central task nowadays?" The view was formed that the most urgent task is to discuss the agenda and working methods of the leading associations, clarifying the members' rights and responsibilities. It is also important to pay closer attention to the tasks related to assisting and developing the activities of the associations' members.

Similarly intriguing is the following: "How can the equality of the members be implemented in practice?" Several people claimed that the leaders of the associations have greater opportunities. No doubt about it, there is much truth in this. In spite of this, however, the principle of legal equality is not merely an empty phrase. A member of an association who participates directly in the production process, has experience and common sense wisdom with which a leader may only be indirectly familiar. No one expects the member involved in the production process to approach every issue under discussion with city-wide, district-wide, or national perspective. However, he is expected to know the opinion of his co-workers and relay those to the leaders, together with his own direct experiences and opinions concerning the topic. Another good method, in our opinion, is inviting the party committee member by the economic, political or administrative functionaries to the meeting, and involving him in the preparation of decisions.

#### Merely Voting?

The ability to decide was also questioned. Some people put it this way: At times they had the feeling that the association does not make decisions, only votes, that is, agrees. They claim that the sponsors place detailed and well-prepared proposals before the association, receptive only to supportive remarks. We must take issue with these claims: Obviously, the association makes a decision, even if it completely agrees and identifies with the proposals. However, members of the association should have sufficient knowledge concerning the proposed topic. For this reason, it is advisable to get them involved in the work of preliminary studies and preparatory work, thus improving their familiarity. If they recognize their own opinions and jointly formed views in the proposals, they will make the decisions with more confidence and certainty. At the same time, it is a reasonable demand to expect as many varying proposals as possible, and the association should decide which one to adopt.

Another disputed topic was the implementation of the association's controlling role. Opinions were voiced according to which members of the party committee, acting in the name of the association, should perform controlling functions primarily in their own neighborhoods and in their work-places. In connection with this, it should be emphasized that the "licenses" of the associations are of a collective nature, and they do not belong to individual members. Naturally



these communists could be assigned by the associations to perform controlling data collection in various areas.

This is even more so, because there are plenty of tasks to be performed. For this reason, we regularly meet with party and mass organization leaders, with the party membership, with the residents of this city, and with the workers' collectives. We continuously analyze the timely tasks with the economic and political leaders of industry and agriculture, and we mutually inform each other. We pay special attention to the so-called regional cooperation which was created in the environs of Hajdunanas, Hajdudorog, and Hajduboszormeny, with the participation of ten agricultural collectives, two joint cooperative enterprises, the AGROBER, the AGROKER, the Szerencs Sugar Refinery, and the Debrecen Preservative Trust. But we also regularly discuss our urban development tasks with the representatives of various groups, thus mobilizing them for the completion of those tasks.

No Secret!

In the course of the discussion, it was repeatedly mentioned that the associative decisions and views of the party should be assured broader publicity, because the work of the local party organization at times appears mysterious to the local public. For this reason, several people proposed that we publish detailed accounts concerning the debates, decisions, and views that occurred during our meetings, if need be, by utilizing the pages of the city's newspaper.

In my opinion, the utilization of experiences gained in this city could significantly contribute to the execution of decisions made at the 13th Congress. When we discuss this topic, we know that the experience thus gained significantly enriches our activities, and this can contribute to the increasingly consistent and effective implementation of our party's policies, and can provide a living example for the development of party democracy.

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HUNGARY

## NEED FOR, PROBLEMS OF EXPANDING PARTY INFLUENCE

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Jul 85 p 5

[Roundtable discussion with Miklos Borszeki, party secretary at Taurus Rubber Goods Enterprise; Bela Feheri, party secretary of Danube Iron Works; Dr Janos Gyugyi, party secretary of Tolna County; Mrs Imre Fel, party secretary of Fekon Pharmaceutical Enterprise; Dr Antal Molnar, Budapest 10th District party secretary; Jozsef Solyom, representing NEPSZABADSAG]

[Text] Modifications primarily in our economic life have been called for by new requirements in the development which has occurred as a result of socialist building work and the fundamental changes on international markets and the financial--and sometimes our tardy reaction to these changes. This "course modification" has affected the production organization of our industry, for some of our trusts and enterprises have broken up and been transformed into independent, medium-sized or small industrial plants. The financial regulation of these enterprises has also been transformed; and recently a decision was also made concerning the modernization of enterprise management.

Of course the regulations which call for these modifications do not automatically bring us nearer to the hoped-for goal of economic rejuvenation. What are the work-place party organizations doing and what can they do, or the guiding area organs, to exploit their own possibilities more intensively in order to realize as quickly and effectively as possible their ideas? We organized a roundtable discussion on this very complicated series of tasks.

### Initial Actions

Nepszabadsag: We might start our discussions with your telling us how practice can adjust its preliminary ideas to the most important changes which have occurred in the economy.

A. Molnar: Let us strike immediately at the heart of this much-discussed problem area, and if the others agree I will dispense with the honorary turn and speak only of essential matters. For what is essential? In my view, it is the fact that the party has an economic policy openly announced and also accepted by society, and it is the work of the party organization to implement this policy at every place of work. The country's economic

leadership has recognized that too many restrictions result in problems that we ourselves put before our economy. At least my interpretation is that the 30 April position of the Central Committee on the modernization of economic management revealed these problems without cosmetics. For example, in planning work the enterprises had to solve this problem in such a way as to increase their independence.

It has been our experience at Kobanya that the enterprises are already in part meeting this requirement. For example, their plans outline how and by what methods they wish to assure the social conditions of the workers and the appropriate living standards. But in these plans they do not react sensitively enough to market changes. That is, from the supply side they are thinking on the basis of their own demands, but their outlook is not adequately adjusted to an active market action. To put it more exactly, sometimes they do not attempt in this sense to think in terms of flexible alternatives suitable to modifications and interchangeable with one another. The surprising thing is--at least by us in the 10th District--that favorable experiences are to be found more in the case of large enterprises. At the smaller plants we experience an uncertainty that is sometimes not understandable.

With the increased enterprise independence I shall note that it was also our large enterprises which primarily took advantage of the possibilities of choice which had been made available to them. Namely, of choosing the enterprise council or the trust system for their management form. Without exception, all our large enterprises decided in favor of establishing an enterprise council. The explanation is that they no longer want to be watched over by a "big brother" who from time to time reaches into their pockets or gives support. They want to make their way on basis of their own decisions and strategy.

#### Welding Unity

NEPSZABADSAG: You mention that in some places there is uncertainty regarding the modernization of the enterprise management system. Could you say in a few words what you in the District Party Committee have done on the basis of this experience?

A. Molnar: I shall begin by saying that like every responsible guiding party organ in the country, we sought in dealing with this problem to improve and enliven party life. By this I mean that our basic organizations discussed these changes at membership meetings, and at these forums every party member without exception had the right to speak his opinion and ask for an answer to the questions that were mostly occupying his mind. I mention this only to give an awareness that we too tried to arrive at the moment of execution by welding party unity. With this thought in mind we prepared a technical guidepost also for our party organizations, which they could use for indicating their tasks and duties.

Mrs Imre Fel: I myself can verify the success of this effort, for my work place is at the Fekona Kobanya. Appropriate theoretical guidance helps

a great deal, but I must say that if we ourselves do not know adequately how to use information and advice that has been received in time, we can count on many tensions that we did not think of earlier. For example, our factory went through a large-scale organizational development. We were a large industrial enterprise which was transformed into four different plants. This does not mean, of course, that Fekon is now a small enterprise; we still have 1,600 employees. But it is undeniable that this separation has made us into competitors and has compelled all our plants to look for new market opportunities both at home and abroad. There has also been occasion for production profile changes. Today, for example, we are making fashion items sought for on Western markets, outer garments, blazers, although we had not even considered making such items earlier.

These changes were accompanied by a large number of problems. It was the task of our party organization to go to each of our working colleagues and convince each one that this process is irreversible, and the decisions that have been taken are necessary. We had to make it understood in our own circle and among our colleagues that economic rejuvenation requires renovation by everyone. Renovation in thought, will and readiness. I shall give only one example: in the period of our organizational restructuring we had to modify our entire management system.

We found this situation also suitable to the bold encouragement of talented young skilled people, ambitious individuals who would like to prove themselves and who for some time have been besieging the large enterprise management with new ideas. Thus we had an important role in the naming and selection of new experts to management positions, but this also leaves us with the duty of measuring by year's end all that has happened: who justified and who did not the hopes placed in them by the collective, and to the extent necessary modify our views whether we are speaking of persons or organizational solutions. We cannot cling to any of our previously mistaken ideas purely for prestige reasons or because we once stated the idea. We must earn our respect not at the cost of others but by acting on behalf of others!

The Important Thing: To Help

NEPSZABADSAG: Permit me to interpose a question here: it has been said in various ways that for new solutions we must find new methods of political guidance-education work. Do we radically have to change our practice of party work at the work place?

M. Borszeki: I do not believe so. Public opinion regards Taurus, which has a 103 year-old past, as a successful enterprise. There are many who do not know how many changes took place behind our actual successes, even when this requirement was not declared in a government program. We also found our party organization in a frequent initiative-taking role at the head of the modernization effort. The participants in this roundtable discussion know very well that in the case of every corrective action that basically affects the fate of many people the work-place party organization has a very difficult task, for who else would try to make those people who are fighting along with us and are frequently struggling understand what

we must do and why if the task is obviously an unusual one and places burdens on many. But we must always start out by thinking of the individual man, for we must make individuals understand the central ideas if we are to hope at all for success. It was exactly such a task which fell to us recently when we had to exchange ideas with more than 10,000 enterprise workers about what kind of enterprise management system we should have. We prepared this open debate and more than 7,000 persons participated. When a decision had to be made between the enterprise council or a trust, unlimited, 7,251 of our colleagues voted, and 7,121 voted for the formation of an enterprise council. I shall add that we did not want to influence the development of anyone's opinion. We disclosed the advantages and disadvantages of both solutions.

J. Gyugyi: I believe that Comrade Borszeki stated the key idea: the essential thing is to help. Our practice also shows that this is the only rational solution. There is no doubt, for example, that the further development of the economic management system and the rightful demand for economic renovation require confident, skillful and well prepared managerial work everywhere. Thus we need economic leaders at the head of every work place who can undertake responsibility and risks and whose help and sometimes supervision require new tasks of us. I emphasize that I agree with those who have said: all this does not mean that we should forget the thus far successful practices of party work. In my opinion we still have to make time, for example, for the regular rendering of accounts by work-place managers. And it is not all the same when and in what respect we have these leaders render account. If we ask only for a semi-annual or annual accounting, we have not done much. Instead we should know how they might extend appropriate help to the party organization and to ourselves in regard to the remaining duties and still unsolved tasks.

In our county we have few enterprise committees, and basic party organizations operate at most of our places. Obviously this is the explanation of the fact that a great deal depends particularly on how successful these basic party organizations are in selecting the managers. Unfortunately, I must say that in Tolna County we find considerable differences of level in this respect. Therefore, in preparing for the congress we devoted greater attention than ever before to the preparation of the membership meetings for office elections. We recognized that it was impossible to conduct party guidance on the basis of stereotype patterns. It is a gross mistake, for example, to tie the hands of our party organizations by prescribing for them in every case what problem areas they should be dealing with. It is obvious that an increase in efficiency, for example, requires entirely different tasks at the Paks Nuclear Plant than at any of our industrial cooperatives. At some places better energy management is the rational task, and at other places we need essentially better labor [elomunka] efficiency.

Back again to the duty of helping, I want to say that because of our characteristic circumstances we have regarded it as the best solution to organize in addition to our party committee a broad network of activists consisting of people who are well trained and held in general esteem. These comrades

come out to the work places and on site they help the basic party organization with their views and advice. It occurs that they are the ones who call our attention to our duty to intercede and to help. For example, at one of our chemical industry cooperatives the situation developed in such a way that the membership placed at the head of the cooperative young and talented managers who wanted changes for the better. In pursuit of their endeavor they organized into an enterprise with a straight profile which undertook to manufacture lamps and aluminum radiators much sought after on the domestic market. In this process an intolerable contradiction developed between the economic and party leadership. Finally, there was no question of mutual help, all they wanted to do was prove who overcame whom. The secretary of the basic party organization was primarily responsible for the development of the situation. We disclosed the actual causes of the problems at a membership meeting of the party organization, and the clarification and the open exchange of ideas provided help. The economic results argue on behalf of our intercession: cooperative profits rose by 70 percent as compared to the previous half year.

### The Process of Renovation

NEPSZABADSAG: Can we state it as a general rule that appropriate political work at our enterprises always goes hand in hand with better economic results?

B. Feheri: It is not that simple a matter. The evaluation of the Danube Iron Works in the past 30 years has often been contradictory, and we are still not in a better situation. This is not because our party organization does not endeavor to stick to its tasks as in other places. Our circumstances are complicated. As is well known, metallurgy is a large material and energy consuming subbranch of industry. And yet, Hungarian industry has an indispensable need for our products. That is, we do not have any market problems, but still when operational conditions falter purchasing problems are experienced at the work places. We are at present manufacturing 1.3 million tons of steel, and if we delivered twice as much it would not be enough. Let me add: nowadays we are manufacturing various steel products with half as much energy as the best experts once thought possible. Frankly, we cannot even conceive that in the next few decades a structural change might occur which would make it possible for the firms to get along without the plates manufactured in the Danube Iron Works. But the question marks towering around us radiate also into the inner life of our enterprise. Thus problems arise which, it cannot be denied, we will have difficulty in handling. The root of these problems is somewhere in the fact that it is not possible for us from one year to the next to introduce changes like manufacturing computers, for example, instead of iron. It follows from this that we must initiate a renovation process of an entirely different nature. But our ideas are accompanied by an inner anxiety: Should we not rethink the planned changes? Such tensions appear the soonest and sharpest in human relations. This is natural, for people are wont to think they have a lot of work to do, that they would like to work even better, and why there is no respect for their position. Within the enterprise finger pointing begins. We also lived through this. We got over it successfully and now with our joint strength we are trying to find the possibilities

in cooperation. We awoke to the fact that we could easily hurt one another, but it would serve the best interest of all of us, of very many people, if we tried to give mutual help. Thus we are trying now to work out with the economic leadership a forward-looking enterprise strategy, but unfortunately under less favorable conditions than at Tauras. We are trying to think and act together in such a way that the realization of our interests will be adapted to the interests of the economy. I believe that because we have problems like these, the question does not even arise as to the kind of place and role the party organization has in the life of the enterprise. We must do all we can to see that the people at the Danube Iron Works will prosper as large factory workers.

Not Formally

NEPSZABADSAG: Are you concerned about the role which awaits the leaders of party organizations in the enterprise councils that are under formation?

Mrs I. Fel: Conceivably, at some given meeting it will be difficult successfully to represent the position of the party secretary and the party committee, but such a task is not unusual for us. The system of party life is such that the leadership operates as a body.

M. Borszeki: I believe the more difficult task is for us to help elect such people to the enterprise council as are suitable for this work. Frankly, we still have only potential possibilities, for there is no one who has been proved suitable in practice thus far. The essential thing is that our party organization and the entire enterprise collective should help the elected persons to do their duty and realize the common interests.

J. Gyugyi: Tolna County is primarily an agricultural region and this is the explanation of the fact that we have already successfully passed through such changes. The changes have already occurred at two of our agricultural combinations, three of our state farms, the Agroker enterprise, and the Paks Canning Factory. I can say that the party organization and the trade union worked successfully together at the above-mentioned work places. I emphasize this because the law grants the trade unions a particularly important role in the preparatory work. As I recall, two of the original candidates were not elected by the workers, and this also indicates that the establishment of the enterprise councils was well prepared. It is true, however, that the operation of these councils must also be learned. After the formation of these councils new initiatives have not appeared anywhere. Thus the first experiences warn us to devote particular attention to see that the enterprise councils do not become bodies that function only formally.

A. Molnar: The exercise of democratism is not as easy a task as many think. The tasks include knowing, understanding and the ability to take responsibility. For example, the party organization must know who works where and at what in the work place in question, it must help everyone accept responsibility for his work and must demand, above all, that everyone should provide the maximum in his own given area of duties. Of course, this task is also extremely complicated. When the work-place party leadership sees

that a given economic manager regards his own situation or that of the work place as hopeless, it should note and state that this manager's mandate has expired. And this is also too little. On such an occasion it must help to see that at the head of this enterprise a [new] person is placed who has ideas and who can "revive" the enterprise and stimulate a change of step.

NEPSZABADSAG: I think we have succeeded in bringing together the present and the new tasks of the plant party organizations. With this hope we thank you for being the guests of our newspaper.

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HUNGARY

ARTICLE ABOUT POPIELUSZKO AFFAIR CRITICIZED

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 19 May 85 p 2

[Article by Gy.G.: "About the Popieluszko Affair..." For the article being criticized, see JPRS-EPS-85-069, 24 June 1985, pp 44-47]

[Text] Sandor Fekete wrote an article in the May 5 issue of Uj Tukur about the popieluszko affair (Pietruszka and his Detachment) and in a rather different spirit than the Hungarian press has done it so far.

Even though Sandor Fekete condemns the methods of the Pietruszko death-brigade, at the same time he states that they in essence "created the necessary martyrdom for the church to lengthen the life-span of its political power," as they created a martyr from the priest. Although the author rejects it, he still quotes the cynical comment that this priest, "following the teachings of his religion, is at this moment resting in heaven on the right of Christ." It seems that this crossed Sandor Fekete's mind as well when he wrote about Popieluszko, as throughout his article he talks "objectively" about the death brigade and the victim. In his view the victim "rejected Christ's teaching in about the same fashion as Pietruszka and his brigade defied Marx." From this comment it seems apparent that Sandor Fekete is concerned about Popieluszko's faith and dismisses the act of the death brigade with a wave of the hand.

I believe that world views notwithstanding, it is clear how we should talk about the Popieluszko affair. Because it was not only Marx who was hurt by Pietruszka and his detachment, but they sinned against basic humanity in a most depraved way.

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HUNGARY

MOZGO VILAG EDITOR ON NEW EDITORIAL PRACTICES, POLICIES

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 31 May 85 p 7

[Julianna Szucs interviewed by Laszlo Szale: "Partisans in the Office"]

[Excerpts] Eighteen months ago the chief editor of the MOZGO VILAG was relieved of his office. As an act of solidarity, the entire editorial staff resigned, and even the outside contributors abandoned the periodical magazine. The way in which Julianna P. Szucs took over the editorship of the periodical is almost unprecedented in the history of Hungarian press. We discussed with her the strange circumstances and the problems and results of the past 18 months.

[Question] You are stuck with a periodical which has abandoned itself.

[Answer] It is true, what I found here was not a complete editorship but I understood the colleagues who resigned. They took a stand for something and remained consistent. The new editorial staff was brought together rapidly and in a fortunate way: everyone has a different expertise and thus the problems of editing can be seen from many different angles.

[Question] There are advantages as well in this peculiar situation: the chief did not inherit but was able to appoint her own staff. Was this true?

[Answer] This was a condition under which I, in spite of everything, finally accepted the editorship of the MOZGO VILAG. I knew that I could find a suitable staff among my friends and their friends. Of course, the MOZGO VILAG did not cease to exist just because those who were doing it are not doing it anymore. A periodical is not made exclusively by the editors, the readers have a say, too, who almost demand the establishment of a missing periodical and influence its format. If some kind of a format of a periodical exists, it is not the result of editorial arbitrariness but it is the articulation of a social demand. Thus it is not closely connected with individual people. MOZGO VILAG was created in its own time because there was a need for it. Periodicals specialize in the arts, literature, history, and other sciences. But no periodical existed which was able to combine both the arts and the sciences. For the creation of such a periodical, a youthful self-confidence was needed in addition to a young group of intellectuals who wanted to see things in their entirety and who had the courage to face the immense problems of giving a complete cross-section.

[Question] In reading, and rereading, the monthly magazine, even I had the impression that there must be some kind of a higher law that, almost independently from the editors, "guarantees" continuity. For today's MOZGO VILAG, surprisingly, is in many respects similar to the old periodical. Is this intentional?

[Answer] We have no reason to abandon the good old traditions. This is also in line with the expectations of the readers. For example, the regular sociographic studies and the demonstration of the various intermedial experiments is still the MOZGO VILAG's responsibility.

[Question] I do not have any statistics but my conclusion, based on personal experience, is that the new MOZGO VILAG was received with skepticism by the readers as well. And it seems that some young intellectuals stopped reading it. Did you, as the editor, feel that it is hopeless to make a periodical in such a suspicious atmosphere?

[Answer] We began the work in a gloomy atmosphere but felt the periodical was our own and we believed in it. The editorship is a transition between a partisan formation and the office. This is why I consider good fellowship -- in addition to ability -- the greatest virtue, and I believe all of us feel the same way. And I soon saw how varied the readership of a periodical is. There was suspicion, to be sure, but the increasing interest of other groups compensated for it. It is perhaps surprising that young intellectuals from the areas of technology, farming, and law hardly knew anything about the vexation around the periodical. I believe that most readers are interested in the periodical, and do not even think of eavesdropping in front of the editorial office. All of this increases our self-confidence. And those, too, who were initially suspicious, gradually returned to the periodical.

[Question] Is time a good healer?

[Answer] I do not think this is the only point. A periodical cannot survive solely on forgetting. I think that in the past year such values were given to MOZGO VILAG that elicited attention. I am thinking here of a few important interviews, among others with Rezso Nyers, of a few very important studies, among others by Ivan Berend T., of the discussions under the title Intra Hungariam, or of Istvan Balazs's article of debate on the opera house or of Gyorgy Adam's article on the gravity-money doctors receive. In Szeged the university students collected signatures in support of the old editorial staff, and later they invited us for a discussion. Let us face it, we were anxious as we accepted the invitation. We witnessed an about-face: they did not attack us but asked us various questions on cultural policy and on how to edit a periodical. They asked questions, gave advice, and even said some nice things about our periodical -- perhaps only accidentally, without any intention.

[Question] The old group of writers returned as well?

[Answer] Slowly but steadily, they are coming back. I will mention some names only on the top of my head without trying to be exhaustive: Bela Osztojkan, Istvan Kamaras, Gyozo Ferencz, Gabor Cyprian Csajka. Unfortunately, many important representatives of the young writers remain away. But we are also at fault in this. Right away in the initial period, we sent them letters, soliciting manuscripts. At that time many gave a negative answer. It seems, then, that we "forced" them to take a stand to which they now understandably adhere. Those whom we did not reach or write, were more likely to come forward.

[Question] Let us leave the past, a youth journal magazine cannot survive with old writers anyway. Periodicals are generally established in the field of force of a generation or a trend and this alignment is usually maintained to the end. If MOZGO VILAG also follows this practice, it will lose its youthful character. At any rate, it is necessary for it to traditionally be a youth journal? This is already questionable in view of the writing staff.

[Answer] I do not think it is essential whether or not the MOZGO VILAG is a youth journal. At every age it is the young generation that creates the "new fashion". Not because it is more talented but because it is without conventions, it is not performed. For this reason it has a better sense of the period's new characteristics, demands, and tendencies, and it has the courage to take hold of them, to express them. Of course, we are striving for allowing room for the new generation's experiments and looking for new ways, but there is no justification for allowing a slip of quality just because someone is young. The only exception we make is that we publish the young writer's promising work even if it is not entirely mature. On the other hand, we shy away from publishing a mediocre work of an older writer. If I had to mention a few examples, I would mention, first of all, the works of Peterpal Gulyas, Istvan Kalasz, Zoltan Kis, Istvan Janicsak. By the way, my dream is to have the young people freely experiment here with anything: with tone, with form, after which they will have the self-confidence to write anything and submit it anywhere. If MOZGO VILAG is a workshop, then the new tone, the new style can be crystallized here and young writers looking for outlets will not be forced to dissemble and to adapt themselves in the course of approaching the various magazines.

[Question] MOZGO VILAG always had the reputation of a courageous magazine. Do the present editors want to preserve this reputation?

[Answer] I do not exactly know what you mean by courage. We think it is our duty to think in a responsible way, not avoiding any question that interests our readers. This also includes the possibility of hurting some feelings, and for this one must indeed have a certain amount of courage or at least tolerance. Our articles entail open protests and angry telephone calls -- not all of them addressed to us. We always offer an opportunity for debate or reply which is seldom made use of. Most recently, it was our article on capital punishment that elicited a debate. The tensions were released within the channel of the press, in the form of articles.

[Question] How do you react to criticism and admonition?

[Answer] If we took the "cries" too much to our heart, we could not live up to MOZGO VILAG's real mission which is to represent a redefined world picture and a newly emerging taste. The rules of expressing interests are now being relearned in our country. This means that we are also both learning and teaching. Indeed, it must also mean that we also must tolerate a certain percentage of mistakes and our mistakes must be tolerated as well. What is essential, however, is that we must be part of this collective "pedagogical" process, no matter whether the consequences are favorable or unfavorable for us.

[Question] Earlier MOZGO VILAG was not readily available. Now, as a result of a higher number of copies printed, it is generally more available but not where one looks for it.

[Answer] It is the regional distribution where we have problems. Cities like Szeged, Kecskemet, Pecs, and Kaposvar receive only 2 or 3 copies, and even these are sold under the counter, although the magazine belongs as much to the country as to the capital city. At least half of our writers come from the country. They come and present themselves, mostly without the acknowledgement, for the magazine does not even reach them. Distribution is a mystical thing with hidden secrets. It is said that the editor should be happy if his magazine is unavailable. I am not happy.

9414

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HUNGARY

SITUATION, PROBLEMS OF GYPSIES: FACTS, FIGURES

Budapest MOZGO VILAG in Hungarian Jun 85 pp 74-77

[Interview with Mrs Istvan Kozak, Section Chief of the Council Office of the Cabinet and Secretary of the inter-departmental committee dealing with the situation of Gypsies, by Katalin Mogyoro: "New Hungarians or Old Gypsies." Date and place not specified.]

[Text] [Question] I have read in a number of places, including in one of your writings, that 380,000 Gypsies reside in Hungary. But who is considered a Gypsy, and how do they know how many of them are there?

[Answer] Gypsies are those people who originate from India and declare themselves to be Gypsies. Of course, if someone's family has been residing in this country for 500 years, that person can easily call himself a Hungarian. Since Gypsies are not a nationality, we could not ask in the census who falls in this category.

[Question] That is exactly why I am asking how we know their number...

[Answer] Most Gypsies live under conditions that are less favorable than those of the Hungarians. A number of problems are derived from this, and it is the task of the local councils to provide remedies. We can tell how many Gypsies there are by consulting the records of the councils.

[Question] According to this, then, "Gypsy" and "disadvantaged" are identical terms.

[Answer] Not exactly, because the council records those residents whose standard of living is equal to that of average Hungarians, or who may even have obtained diplomas. However, if someone moves away from his original residence, it is difficult to tell whether he is a Gypsy or not.

[Question] But is this important at all? Or, if yes, at most it would be useful to have data like this in order to illustrate progress. For example, do you know how many people have become completely assimilated during the four decades since liberation? In other words, how many are there to whom their Gypsy past makes no difference?

[Answer] No, we have no data on that.

[Question] And do you know the present number of Gypsy intellectuals?

[Answer] The only thing I can say is that there are about 200 [intellectuals] who accept their Gypsiness. These are the people who, at the request of the Patriotic People's Front, the Red Cross, or the local councils are willing to work on behalf of the Gypsy population. The rest [of the intellectuals] are simply economists, physicians, engineers, or whatever profession they have learned. It is my conviction that they have the right to ignore, or even deny, their Gypsy origins. But if we are talking about the integration or structuralization of Gypsies, I wish to point out that about 25-30 percent of them have achieved a good standard of living, and a few of them--such as the individuals going from market to market, or the musician Gypsies--live decidedly well. However, if we consider the Gypsies' education, the picture is not going to be as pretty as when considering their material welfare. Regrettably, the last survey concerning this issue was taken in 1971. The situation must have improved since. At that time, 39 percent of adult Gypsies were illiterate, and among those speaking the Gypsy language, or those who were bilingual, the ratio was even worse, 54 percent. Of course, such low educational achievement defines the entire life of Gypsies. Most of them are manual laborers. While among the non-Gypsies the ratio of unskilled laborers is 12 percent, among the Gypsies it is 50 percent. Only 8 percent of the Gypsies are skilled workers, while the ratio among the non-Gypsies is 30 percent. Some of the Gypsy children do not finish the eight elementary grades; and few of those reaching that level continue their studies. While 94 out of every 100 non-Gypsy children pursue further studies, the ratio among those Gypsy children who finish the eighth grade is only 37 percent. The disadvantaged state of Gypsies is largely determined by their lack of education; this sets their level of earnings, and the fact that they receive low-level employment, with low pay.

[Question] Of course, the children of non-Gypsy unskilled workers are not exactly in an advantageous position, if they wish to "skip" several social layers.

[Answer] True, many people say that Gypsies are only as disadvantaged as the poorly educated Hungarians. In my opinion, however, their situation is worse; if they fail to advance as an ethnic group, then their opportunities for mobility are much more limited. In addition, they have their traditions and cultural factors: For instance, in the eyes of Gypsy parents, schools have no prestige. Even today, many of them see no reason for their children to go to school; this is primarily because none of the traditional Gypsy trades requires formal preparation. As a matter of fact--as I mentioned earlier--the representatives of certain [Gypsy] professions can achieve a considerably high standard of living. In view of these traditions, I approve of the program proclaimed by the Heves County council, according to which each Gypsy child ought to move one step higher than his parents. If the parents were illiterate, the child should learn how to write; if the parents completed the eight elementary grades, the child should learn a trade; if the parents are skilled workers, the child should complete high school.

[Question] Yes, this could be a valid program for the average. However, what

should happen to those exceptionally talented Gypsy children who would like to "skip" more than one social level; let's say, their parents are unskilled laborers, and they wish to go to a university?

[Answer] There are various governmental decrees concerning this...

[Question] I am asking about the practice: How can those decrees be implemented? Because, in spite of the good-sounding principles and concepts, I believe that a Gypsy child endeavoring to complete a large social jump encounters countless walls and obstacles, and I am not even considering those who are unaware of their own talents.

[Answer] There are many possibilities: scholarships; social aid; enterprises may decide to sponsor a Gypsy child; and the local councils have a special budget for the purpose of buying shoes and clothes for Gypsy children, so that the lack of these would not prevent them from attending school.

[Question] I still do not see the entire process. Let us say, for example, that a Gypsy child leaves his village and goes to the nearby city in order to enter high school: Which council takes care of him then? Or does anyone take care of him at all?

[Answer] I can still only say that there are many types of possibilities open: for example, the sponsoring network of the Patriotic People's Front, or the network set up to counsel Gypsy families, which, among other things, tries to convince the parents to enroll their children in kindergartens. The people working in these networks notice when a talented Gypsy child appears somewhere. But the truth is that the system does not work in an entirely satisfactory manner. In my opinion, a national network should be established for the sponsorship of Gypsy children who decide to continue their education.

[Question] Several concepts have been developed to prevent the inheriting of disadvantages. I have heard that in several counties they try to remove the children at an early age from the environment which stimulates them neither to work nor to study.

[Answer] I disagree with that method, even though there are several people promoting it, but fortunately fewer are able to put it into practice because the conditions for it are missing. In my view, it is a shame to remove Gypsy children from their families, because institutions, no matter how excellent facilities they may have to offer, are unable to replace close human ties. In Tolna County, however, they have come up with an excellent method. In one of the villages they built a so-called weekday student hostel, where they place local Gypsy children between Monday and Friday. Their parents can visit them during the week, too, and for the weekends they get to go home. Gypsy children attend the same school as the others, and the extra attention they receive in the hostel gives them a chance to compete. It is also noted that in the hostel they learn neatness and cleanliness, which they can pass on to their parents, educating them, as it were. They begin to insist on cleaning the house and demand fresh bedding. Placing these children in the care of the state is not a good solution for another reason: Youngsters leaving state institutions have difficulty finding sublets, and Gypsies in the same situation



are rejected outright. This comes as a shock to them: in the institutions they encountered no discrimination, and this is their first experience in real life.

[Question] In spite of this, there are many Gypsy children in the care of the state. One reason for this may be that Gypsy girls give birth to several children, often at an early age.

[Answer] Yes, about 40-50 percent of children in state institutions are Gypsies. This is much higher than the ratio twenty years ago. But this does not mean that the situation of Gypsies has deteriorated, but rather that the authorities pay increased attention to them.

[Question] What kind of conditions are required for the local councils to recommend that Gypsy children be placed in state institutions? After all, there are many children living in huts or in poor dwellings...

[Answer] Living in a hut, in itself, is not sufficient reason. Children are placed in state institutions only if the parents are unsuitable for raising them: if they are alcoholics, deviants, or if they are in prison.

[Question] What is the rate of population growth among Gypsies?

[Answer] Thirty-eight percent of the Gypsy population is under 14 years of age. Ten years ago this proportion was 44 percent. By way of comparison: 21 percent of the non-Gypsies are in the same age category. While Hungarian families have one or two children, Gypsies have two or three. Presently, 6 percent of elementary school pupils are Gypsies, but the ratio ten years ago was the same.

[Question] What this implies is that the cultural level of Gypsies has risen. At any rate, conscious family planning would lead one to believe this.

[Answer] It has already been demonstrated by a survey that birth rate is in inverse relationship with the schooling of Gypsy women; in other words, they are already using the possibilities offered by family planning. Unfortunately, very early marriages are still customary among them.

[Question] During the past four decades there have been many types of concepts proposed about how to raise the Gypsies out of their backwardness. There have been many mistakes made as well. The deeds of a socialist country can be judged by the measure of success in changing the life-style of such disadvantaged groups. Looking at it in this light, how do you evaluate the achievements of the last four decades?

[Answer] Many of the great societal transformations of the late 1940's passed Gypsies by; since many of them lived at the ends of villages or in the forests, they often did not even know about those developments. For example, they did not benefit from the distribution of land, and consequently few of them became members of cooperative farms. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact reasons for this, but until the early 1960's no one paid specific

attention to Gypsies. In my opinion, the official conception of those years may have been that the great societal transformations would automatically have their effect upon the Gypsies too. Unfortunately, this did not happen. This was one of the reasons for the party examining the Gypsies' situation during the early 1960's and for introducing certain measures. Unfortunately, the same survey also had to acknowledge that, compared to the pre-1945 period the situation of Gypsies has deteriorated somewhat. There are several reasons for this: In the old days, a number of them used to work on the estates, and with the disappearance of large land-ownership, those people found themselves out of work. Parallel with socio-economic development, a number of Gypsy trades became obsolete. It is also a fact that during the period of intensive industrialization, when many women joined the work-force, the Gypsies remained behind in the race for work opportunities. However, the Gypsy policies announced after the party's 1961 decision have achieved their results in the last 24 years. Today, 85-90 percent of adult Gypsy men are working, and 90 percent of them no longer live in Gypsy settlements. Of course, there is a difference between closing the gap and becoming assimilated into society; it is certain, however, that only 10 percent of the Gypsies find themselves in conflict with the laws.

[Question] Are there Gypsy traditions that are regrettably eliminated by progress?

[Answer] Yes, there are, even though few people know of these. Exactly for this reason, it would be desirable for Hungarian society to understand that Hungarian and Gypsy are not synonyms for "good" and "bad." Being a Gypsy is a form of "otherness," which has peculiarities worth preserving in order to enrich the culture of our country. In addition to their songs and dances, one positive trait of Gypsies is that they respect and take care of their old. There are hardly any Gypsies in our old-age homes. The explanation for this is that it is considered a shameful thing to expel old people from Gypsy families. They also like their children. There are other customs they refuse to give up, such as some elements of dress. It is not uncommon to see Gypsy women and girls dressed in modern clothing, yet still wearing colorful kerchiefs over their heads. By the way, acquiring Gypsy clothes is not cheap; they pay lots of money to import the material from abroad and have the items sewn in this country. Most Gypsy women have long hair, and they hardly ever wear slacks.

[Question] Aside from the period of Fascism, Gypsies were never persecuted in Hungary; as a matter of fact, it seems that they were tolerated better in the old days.

[Answer] Yes, and this can be explained by the fact that there used to be no great difference between poor villagers and Gypsies. I believe that Hungarians were quite ready to accept Gypsies. It appears that we are less tolerant nowadays, and, I think, not only toward Gypsies.

[Question] The vajda [=voivode?] used to be the recognized leaders of Gypsy communities; what is more, we hear that in certain places this is still the case. Could this "vajda-system" be used for speeding up the integration of Gypsies?

[Answer] There are such vajdas in the counties of Gyor and Komarom, and in addition to, say, organizing a ball, they also visit the Gypsy communities, listen to wishes and complaints, and relay these to the local council. Conversely, they also transmit society's expectations to Gypsies. Right now the Patriotic People's Front is in the midst of organizing a Gypsy Committee. Gypsies of each county will be represented in this body, and if there is a recognized leader, such as the vajda, naturally he is going to be the selected representative. The real solution would be to have Gypsies elect their own representatives who, through the Patriotic People's Fronts of the counties, would be able to reach the Gypsy Committee. In the beginning, this is certain to run into snags, but the problems of Gypsies could be solved much more easily if they could work with them within their own communities.

12588

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HUNGARY

# TV PROGRAM ON YOUNG CRIMINALS DESCRIBED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Jun 85 p 6

[Commentary by Laszlo Rozza: "At Risk"]

[Text] We have seen the most upsetting program of Blue Light on tv in a long time. The viewer is by now virtually used to the burglar telling with cynical professional confidence how to break into a house; to the swindler relating improbable but true stories about human stupidity and gullibility; and to hearing members of a gang that committed a crime against public property putting the responsibility on each other. We are used to seeing wanted criminals on the screen as long lost acquaintances and remark on how much they have aged since their last "appearance." We have some overview of the means of crime fighting, of robot technology, of identifying objects and evidence, and as a result we watch and judge the criminal authenticity of detective films with some superiority of the initiated.

But Wednesday night was somehow different. It took one's sleep away. It was not the sight, because this time we really did not need to turn aside to avoid shocking images. The style was different, and so was the idea. This time the whole thing was less police oriented and the detective elements were downplayed as well. We saw adolescent criminals and criminals barely past childhood. Among them the kind that killed, that beat to death an innocent and unsuspecting pedestrian just to pass time, one may say for entertainment. The program was about young, bullying gangs, youthful vandals, vagrants who left their families or never really had one. About swaggering youth with little money and a waiter with lots of money who already at the age of 17 plays the lord of the night in the world of night clubs of Pest hotels. The program spoke of children and adolescents who grew up in alcoholic families, without a solid foundation, aimlessly and hopelessly. This is what was pondered aloud, discussed and argued by a police officer of the youth division, a judge, a criminal psychologist and the host journalist.

This time there were no categorical statements, no moral lessons. The viewer could sense the astonishment, the shock on the faces of the experienced police officer, attorney and psychologist.

Yes, the number of endangered minors is above 100,000. According to statistics, childhood crime has risen continuously during the last 5 years. In 1980, 9 percent of all criminals were minors, but last year the percentage was 11.6. According to even more precise statistics for the mean of the past 10 years, of all crimes 4 percent were committed by children under the age of 14, 12 percent by adolescents between the ages of 12-18, and 28 percent by adults between the ages of 18-24.

These are intolerable numbers and they reflect an intolerable trend. They indicate that we have to do something other than build more and more orphanages, juvenile halls and penal institutions for minors. (Although a good number of the existing ones need renovation.) The police officer, the judge, the psychologist and the journalist all agreed (and in all probability the viewers joined them) that the solution has to come at the level of society, primarily within the family. We have known the problems for a long time: alcoholism, divorce, stress, exhaustion or selfishness of the parents. Discrepancies of culture and living standard, negative life patterns, bad customs and frequently our indifference, turning our face away in the streets. Children who were pushed out into the street, whose emotional world was robbed, cheated and humiliated do not necessarily have to become criminals, but the possibility rises in proportion with the number of endangered children.

No, nobody assumes that the popular program Blue Light, designed to give information on the protection of society, can give a deep analysis of a social ill of this magnitude and with so many sources, namely the problem of the proliferation of childhood and adolescent crime and the rise in the number of endangered children. But I believe it accomplished what it was capable of doing: the shock it created will perhaps mobilize more people, and more state, council, school and social authorities and organizations will define their tasks in this matter. And we hope that tv's Thursday night program titled "Occupation: Parent" was not just an accidental continuation of the theme. The subject was that orphans will again be given to suitable and willing foster parents. Figuratively, however, it touched millions. We, who raise children, are all parents by occupation. Therefore the danger should be felt by all of us.

12366

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HUNGARY

GRANDSON OF REGENT HORTHY INTERVIEWED IN INDONESIA

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 16 Jun-85 pp 18-19

[Sharif (Istvan) Horthy interviewed by Andras Sugar: "Horthy, the Moslem"]

[Text] I was happy to undertake social work with the UN Child and Education Fund at the Hungarian executive committee of UNICEF. It is a very useful organization about which most people know only that it sells Christmas cards.

Well, the Secretary General of this organization is my friend Tarzie Vittachi, an elderly Sri Lanka journalist, who received his strange first name from his parents because his "ancestors" adored Tarzan. Tarzie is a gentle, soft-spoken man, who works relentlessly on behalf of the hungry, orphan children of the world. Once I was preparing a T.V. interview with him in Budapest and--as is usual in such cases--we talked a great deal about world affairs, and the history of our little country, too, came up. The Horthy system was also mentioned.

"Since we are speaking of Horthy," said Tarzie, "let me tell you that I know the grandson of the regent."

Little Istvan Horthy, "the Orphan of the Nation," was the darling of the newspapers when I was a child. His father, the vice-regent [died] when his plane crashed on the eastern front on 20 August 1942, his nameday. It is rumored that the Germans were responsible. How many photographs appeared at the time, how many tearjerking articles portrayed the small boy born in 1940 as the solace of the old regent and the symbol of every Hungarian war orphan...I myself was already 9 years old in 1942, and therefore I recall all these things vividly.

Tarzie said that Istvan was living in Indonesia.

I was in Indonesia in the spring of 1985 shooting a documentary's film, I soon found in the Djakarta telephone book the name Horthy. On the same page with the number of the Hungarian--Hongaria--embassy.

A quick call.

"This is Horthy."

"Permit me to introduce myself. I would like to write an article about you. Please let us arrange a meeting."

"Gladly," Istvan Horthy answered in English. "You know, I have not been in Hungary since 1944 when I was still very young; I have been reading many good things nowadays about Hungary and I would be glad to meet with you."

It was a large, elegant house with a garden in one of the villa quarters of Djakarta. I was received by a tall, lean man of 45 years with the characteristic aquiline Horthy nose and a black beard.

He led me into the living room in the middle of which several turtles were crawling about in a small basin. Horthy now spoke in Hungarian: "The larger one always wants to crawl out, but he can't make it. And just imagine, the smaller one is much more clever and often gets out."

He spoke Hungarian perfectly. I was surprised. Later on I received an explanation for this, too.

He introduced me to his wife Henrietta, who it turns out visited Hungary as a tourist 4 years ago with an Austrian IBUSZ [Touring, Money Changing, Traveling, and Shipping Company] group.

"You can imagine I was afraid all the way from Vienna to Budapest that the Horthy name would attract someone's attention. No one even noticed. I was almost offended that no one was interested why I had the name. I liked it very much in Pest, I saw Castle Hill, where Sharif was born."

"Sharif?"

Yes, my husband's name is Sharif now, not Istvan."

There is an explanation for this, too, but let us take the many interesting details of the history in their turn.

One of Horthy's five children appeared, the pretty 15-year old Marianne. She left right away because she was preparing for an examination and had to study.

Now we could converse quietly. Only the head of the family speaks Hungarian, and for his wife's sake we speak English. She speaks this language excellently as well as Indonesian, German, Portuguese and several other languages.

Do you remember anything at all about Budapest?" I asked.

"I could not really say, my mother and grandparents told me so much about the events that I truly cannot separate the actual visual images and the ideas suggested by these stories. It is certain, however, that we were guarded in Castle Hill by Otto Skorzeny and his SS-troopers. My grandfather wore a hunting cap, they shuttled us about in black automobiles, they took

us to the Papal Nuncio's residence, we were in many air-raid shelters and cellars. My mother and grandmother prayed a great deal. I could meet with my grandfather the regent only on the train. It seems I can remember walking in the mornings with him in the garden under German guard."

What kind of atmosphere was there in the family after 15 October 1944?"

"I do not remember this myself but everyone has said that the family was in a very bad state of mind. They were all nervous and depressed, but I kept on playing as though nothing had happened. And then they took us to Bavaria to the Hirschberg Castle near Lake Starnberger. This was the home of an aristocratic German family, at one time Mussolini was also under guard there, but of course he was not held a prisoner. It may be that my grandfather was not there in the first few days but was brought there later. The family was guarded by 100 SS-troopers and 20 Gestapos. My mother said it was later learned that Himmler had ordered the entire family to be shot to death if the Allies should approach. But the guards were not inclined to do this, they were more interested in saving themselves. The treatment was not friendly, they called us dogs, and the food was very bad.

"And how were you liberated?"

"The castle was taken by American troops. They quickly moved us out and quartered us in Weilheim, a small Bavarian village. Near the village in the community of Polling there was a Hungarian refugee camp, many of them came to visit us. We barely had any money, but I felt good because every Hungarian visitor pampered me. And then in 1949, the year of the West German monetary reform, our worries increased, and in the cold village my grandmother had pneumonia twice. Where should we go? The whole family was occupied with this problem for months. Finally, Salazar invited my grandfather to Portugal. In Germany my grandmother supported the family with nursing, a profession she had learned during the war. And then we went to Portugal, and wealthy Hungarian sympathizers in America sent us money. In Portugal we moved three times and finally settled in the Estoril at the Casa Sao Jose."

I told Istvan Horthy that on an earlier filming mission in Portugal I had taken pictures of the Casa Sao Jose in the Estoril to which an old taxicab driver had taken me. I wrote up this "adventure" in a book that appeared in 1977. He listened to this "story" with interest.

"And who lived in that house?" I asked.

"My grandfather, his wife, the former Magdolna Purgly, my mother and nanny, Ilona Sajni. Niki, that is, Miklos Horthy junior, also visited sometimes from Brazil.

"Who was Ilona Sajni?"

"Was? She is still alive. She was a simple village girl whom my grandfather took on during the war so that I should have a Hungarian rather than a German or English nanny. She is still not married and is living alone in ...



Durham, England. We correspond regularly, always in Hungarian, she only now wrote me her very first English-language letter. The entire family spoke Hungarian in the Portuguese home.

He said that Miklos Horthy lived an active life in the Estoril; tennis, swimming and painting.

"With 23 October 1956, my grandfather became rejuvenated. He hoped that the system would change in Hungary and he could go home. He was homesick. And then came November. But perhaps you cannot write in a Hungarian newspaper what I am now going to say: In November my grandfather received the final blow from fate. I observed that after the bad news he quit reading the newspapers, and in December he no longer got up from bed. He died very soon thereafter in January 1957 at the age of 89 years."

"Why shouldn't I be able to write it? Your grandfather reacted to the news in 1956 faithful to himself, according to his own logic, and in harmony with his political life history. On October 23 he hoped that the day of the historical Hungarian ruling class would rise again. But in November he had to understand that the Horthy system could never return."

"That's how it actually is...My grandmother followed him within a year. She had a stomach ulcer. I cried over them, for we loved one another. Although...the old man talked a great deal about Hungary, and he reminisced so much with his frequent visitors that it was really a burden to me. They always talked of the past, they always praised lavishly the Hungarian soldier as the best in the world, the Hungarian farmer as the world's best agriculturist, and so on. It bored me terribly, but what is true is true: when my grandfather wrote his memoirs I helped with my English translations. And there was one other thing I did not like at Estoril: I was reared by three women: my grandmother, my mother and Ilona Sajni. They did not know how to handle a boy, I was the apple of their eye and I always had to go about in a coat and shawl, all wrapped up. For this reason I always had a cold. And when I was 12 years old they sent me to the Gordonstound, that outstanding school for boys, where the English Dukes Phillip and Charles were also in attendance. There I immediately caught cold, and I lay in the hospital for 3 months, but since then I have never had any trouble, this is how the cold-air school of Scotland began."

Henrietta served English tea. The "nation's orphan" continued:

"In 1958 after 5½ years of study I finished the Gordonstound high school and became a student at the Oxford Christ Church College. Here one of my teachers was Miklos Kurti, the physicist of Hungarian descent. I met Professor Macartney, who in BBC broadcasts under the name of "Elemer Macartney" spoke regularly to the occupied country in the Hungarian language and with a characteristic English accent."

Where did you meet your wife?"

"I met Henrietta Chamberlain in Kingston because we belonged to a spiritual movement called the Subud, and we became acquainted at one of the meetings."

"What is the Subud?"

"It is a world-wide organization. The name is from three Sanskrit words. Susila, civilization; Budi, divine power; and Dharma, peace and resignation. These make up the acronym Subud. It has no dogma, the teachings are very simple."

A long explanation followed from which I understood that the followers of Subud receive their life force from complete submission to God. The organization is not a religion; the members may be Christians, Jews, Buddhists or Moslems. No membership fee is assessed but the organization expects a notable 25 percent of profits from businessmen. That is...the founder and head of the movement, or the "bapak" (which in Indonesian means "father"), receives the remittances. Istvan Horthy became a member of Subud in 1957; up to then he had experimented with many intellectual movements and had been disappointed.

"As a follower of Subud, I wanted to come closer to the source. The founding father, the "bapak," is a simple Indonesian by the name of Subuh Sumohadiwidjojo, he is now 84 years old, he was born in the Semarang in Java, a railroad bookkeeper by occupation. I had studied the Indonesian language in England, and sometimes the "bapak" stayed at our house when he visited there. The "bapak" has a large firm, the P. T. S. Widjojo Company that deals mostly with real estate, architecture, and construction materials. He invited me to Indonesia, and finally we went; Henrietta cried constantly for weeks, but she came. She is not sorry. Now I am the "bapak's" confidant and the managing director of the company."

"And how did you become Sharif Horthy?"

"This has a strange story. Eight years after I became a follower of the Subud, I took up the Moslem religion, although institutional religions had never interested me."

"Well, why did you become a Moslem?"

"I lacked the discipline of religion, a systematic life. And as I saw it, the Moslem religion is the most suitable of all the religions for this; one must wash and pray 5 times daily, one month a year is Ramadan, and believe me I keep the fast..."

The "nation's orphan" is a frank and open man, I thought, and I can ask a rather painful question:

"Do not be offended, but you did not perhaps become a Moslem because it would be easier for you to participate in the business life of Indonesia?"

"No. This is proved by the fact that I became a Moslem in England, one year before the big move."

"And where does the name Sharif come from?"

"The Arab name actually means "keeper" and this is where the English word sheriff comes from. The spirit of self-discipline is what I liked in this name, and that is why I chose it. I did not cast aside the name Istvan, I have no problems with it, but in my passport I am Sharif Horthy, British subject; this is my official name."

"Tell me, Sharif, what do you think of eccentrics?"

"I have a good opinion of them. I am one myself."

Here Henrietta interrupted:

"That is not true. Sharif is a very calm, orderly disciplined man. He works 7 days a week. By the age of 14 years he had already read everything."

"After completing my studies at the College," Istvan Horthy continued, "I became a physicist. But then I discovered that this was a boring occupation. I also finished studies at the Imperial College, and became a structural engineer, and architect. I planned good houses. Five children came quickly; three boys and two girls. Henrietta was a singer who sang operettas and lyrics, but since she became my wife she has devoted all her energies to the family."

I still did not entirely understand all this about Subud and Islam. How did Istvan Horthy, the younger, who is obviously a very intelligent and cultured European, become Sharif and a Moslem? We talked about this for a long time and finally somehow it cleared up my mind.

This is the way the young Horthy, in this strange way, reacted to the extreme nostalgic nationalism of the old regent and his environment. This is how he rebelled!

"I could not reconcile myself with this spirit," he said pondering. An eternal profession of being a true Hungarian...I hate nationalism. Of course, I myself am a proud Hungarian, I am happy when I hear foreigners praising Bartok, and so on, but for me nationalism is some kind of survival from the 19th century which endangers civilization. I never said this to the old man, but I did not like the nationalism that flowed from him and his friends. I wanted to transcend this spirit. I needed something else, some kind of international movement. I found this in Subud. And Subud gives perspective and enlightens us to know that life does not merely consist of making money, which ends with death."

"But you earn quite well," I interposed.

"That is true, but I do not see a contradiction."

"That is not why I said it...Tell me, have you ever read anything about Miklos Horthy which was not flattering to the former regent?"

"Never! And I would be very much interested in a critical view of my grandfather."

"Then I recommend to your attention a book by Zoltan Vas."

"Who is Zoltan Vas?"

"He was a communist politician who spend 16 years in the dear grandpappa's prisons. And therefore he strikes a more critical tone than you are used to, but I believe that basically he writes objectively of Horthy."

"I would be glad to read it."

I promised to send him a copy of the Vas book.

And then he went on to say that his mother, Ilona Edelsheim-Gyulai was married years ago to a British military officer, who later became military attache in Baghdad, and his mother lived for many years in Iraq as the wife of a British diplomat. Today they live in Portugal, the British "stepfather" is retired. To judge by the photographs, Lady Ilona still looks surprisingly young. On the other hand, Niki, or the junior Miklos Horthy, is very old, sick, and suffering from severe depression; he, too, is living in Portugal; he mourns his wife, who died not long ago.

Sharif would like to visit Hungary, he is not a political person and he regards the Horthy name as an accident of birth. He sent his wife "on ahead" and she returned with good impressions from Budapest.

"Do you think they would respect my desire to remain incognito if I were to visit the homeland as a British citizen and as a tourist?" he asked.

"I am certain they would. If you would not want it no one would try to stage you, or above all, harrass you. Of course, it would have to be kept a secret if you were to come, for there may be here and there in our country an older person or two for whom the Horthy name might still have an attractive ring...But believe me, you are not a political "subject," you are one of the subordinate players in history who dropped into the events of World War II like Pilate into the credo..."

Since we were at this point, I asked:

"At that time the Nazis spread the rumor that your mother was part Jewish..."

"It is not true," he said laughing. "I wish it were, I would certainly be a better business man!"

"And they also say that Horthy had dynastic aspirations, and therefore he had you baptized a Catholic in order that you might sometime become the king, because the Crown cannot be placed on the head of a Protestant..."

"This is not true either. I was baptized a Protestant [Calvinist] and I remained one until I became a Moslem."

Finally, I left a copy of the History of 1944 with Sharif, the interesting annual of the HISTORIA periodical in which appear, among others, pictures of the mother, grandfather and Uncle Niki.

Several days later he returned the book to my hotel. I called him up once more to bid him farewell. He liked the book very much, and said it was "extremely objective." We agreed that if he visits Pest he should visit the reconstructed Castle Hill where he had lived his early, happy years of life and from where he was taken by the Germans.

His children do not speak Hungarian. The Horthy "legend" will not be continued in the person of Sharif.

6691

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HUNGARY

## AGREEMENT WITH AUSTRIA ON PUNISHMENT OF CRIMINALS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Jun 85 p 7

[Interview with Tamas Ban, section chief at the Ministry of Justice, by Katalin Szoghy: "Austro-Hungarian Agreement about the Mutual Implementation of Criminal Court Decisions"]

[Text] In international relations, the numerous possible forms of economic, commercial, or cultural cooperation are necessarily accompanied by cooperation based on international agreements. Expansion of relationships has also been marked by legal-assistance agreements aiming at solving personal legal problems that arise abroad: in our country the general legal-assistance agreements with the socialist countries and nearly 20 criminal legal-assistance agreements with countries having other types of social systems. However, the developing process is reflected not only in the statistics of past times but also in the content of recently signed international agreements of a new kind, about which we conversed with Dr. Tamas Ban, section chief for international legal affairs in the Ministry of Justice.

### A New Kind of Agreement

[Question] A few weeks ago, there was a brief news report that the Ministers of Justice of Austria and Hungary had signed an international agreement on mutual implementation of criminal court decisions. The parties signing the agreement called it a very important milestone in relations between the two countries. What gives this agreement special significance?

[Answer] Up to now, this kind of agreement has been made only with socialist countries. The 1978 Berlin treaty, wherein Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the GDR, the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Mongolia joined with our country, contains this kind of agreement. But this agreement did not solve the concerns in our relations with countries having other social systems in regard to the growing tourist traffic. That is to say, the traffic, which has happily increased sharply, raises more often than before the unfortunate question of what should be the procedure when someone abroad gets into trouble with the laws in effect there. Humanitarian viewpoints and the various methods of "resocialization" [rehabilitation] in each country demand that everyone take responsibility for his deeds in his own country, not in a nation with different traditions and customs. This also expresses the interdependence between a state and its citizens.

Now, however, in our relations with non-socialist countries -- whether on the basis of reciprocity or international agreements -- present practice is that if a foreigner in Hungary or a Hungarian citizen abroad gets in trouble with the criminal law, the criminal proceedings can be offered to the state where the offender resides.

A condition for this, of course, is dual criminality, that is, the act performed has to be punishable by the laws of both countries. For example, if the deed is only punishable under Hungarian law, the criminal proceedings must be carried here. But there can be other obstacles to transferring the proceedings. The seriousness of the matter and individual points of view can make it appropriate that the proceedings take place where the crime was committed.

One such recent event was the Brussels soccer scandal, the main perpetrators of which, [though] British citizens, will be punished in Belgium with the consent of England. It is also a frequent occurrence that a so-called "joint" matter is involved, with citizens of several countries as suspects. The interconnections of the matter and considerations of equal treatment do not allow the criminal proceedings to be fragmented, so the guilt of each party must be determined within a single jurisdiction. For this reason, there has been more attention given to transferring the punishment, in which case these and similar factors do not weigh so heavily.

The goal is to supplement the classic extradition agreements or those connected with offering to transfer criminal proceedings and legal-assistance agreements with agreements on mutual implementation of punishments also. This kind of agreement that has been made with Austria is the first in a series, and its special significance is given by the fact that in Austria a Hungarian criminal proceeding is recognized and its final outcome, the sentence, is accepted without reservation.

[Question] However, in order for a country to undertake implementation of another country's sentence against one of its own citizens, dual criminality is necessary. How many points of agreement are there between Austrian and Hungarian criminal laws?

[Answer] Very many; of course there are also significant differences, for example in the judgment of matters concerning currency, customs, taxes, and fees. But this can be overcome, because there are many similar provisions. Thus, both states have committed themselves to accept implementation of sentences if their own criminal laws recognize at least a similar kind of criminal act. On the other hand, however, one cannot envision significant compromises in connection with political crimes, and the agreement does not extend to these.

[Question] But according to the agreement, nothing in which the common-law features outweigh the political ones can be considered a political crime. What does this mean?

[Answer] This category includes terrorist acts performed by gangster methods that also endanger public safety. In recent years it has become a customary and agreed international practice to separate these acts from the area of political crimes, and although at this time there is nothing happening between Austria and Hungary in this area, it is still a noteworthy provision, part of the growing international struggle against terrorism. In other international agreements and multilateral pacts to which our country has also joined, there are already stronger provisions, and it can be observed that terrorism is receiving an increasingly broad definition. For example, according to the international agreement between Spain and our country, which was also made just recently, concerning extradition and criminal legal assistance, a terrorist attack against anyone, no matter who, is not a political crime. In this question the viewpoints of countries with differing legal systems have grown closer together, which is generally a condition for successful criminal prosecution in the international arena.

#### Converging Standpoints

[Question] In this connection, the following question can be asked regarding the Austro-Hungarian agreement: what happens in those cases where the legal systems of the two countries have different forms of punishment or widely different conditions for punishment of a given crime?

[Answer] The agreement only contains provisions for mutual implementation of prison sentences in criminal cases or -- for an alcoholic or mentally deficient criminal -- placement in an institution. But there is a provision in the agreement that if the prescribed punishment or sentence cannot be brought into harmony with the laws of the implementing country, then it can be modified by the implementing country according to its own laws. But if this is not at all possible, the original decision must be approached. On the other hand, the prisoner cannot be placed in a less favorable situation than if the punishment had been carried out away from his homeland.

#### Sign of Increasing Trust

[Question] Why does the agreement not relate to mutual implementation of other kinds of punishment as well?

[Answer] Partly because of practical problems, partly because of differing viewpoints about punishment. For example, there would be no obstacle in principle to mutual implementation of a suspended prison sentence. But in this kind of case the prisoner must obey certain rules of conduct, and since he will naturally return home after the sentence, it is questionable how it would be possible to verify that the rules have in fact been obeyed. There are also differences in legal practice in connection with restrictions on travel. In Hungary, it frequently happens that a driver's license is revoked, because in our opinion it is important in the public interest that the safety of public transportation not be endangered by unruly drivers. In these questions we have not yet arrived at a common denominator, but we are still striving for it, because we know it is in our mutual interest.



"The matters that are today still unresolved can hardly lessen the value of the agreement, however," the section chief emphasizes, "because it has utilized every possibility, up to the limits deriving from differences in the legal systems, for close cooperation. In addition to easing the work of criminal justice administration, we can see in the agreement a noteworthy sign of mutual trust, and we can with reason regard it as placing a new seal on the outstanding good relations between the two countries. In this regard the agreement with Spain is also a significant step forward, but conditions have now ripened to the point where the Austro-Hungarian agreement can be regarded as a model in our future international legal-assistance agreements with individual countries. We are confident that our possible future partners in agreement are also striving for this kind of model relationships."

9611

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HUNGARY

BASIC COMMUNITIES SEEN AS NEW MODEL OF RELIGIOUS REVIVAL

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 12 Jul 85 p 7

[Sociologist Miklos Tomka interviewed by Istvan Javorniczky: "Decline or Renewal?" Date and place not given.]

[Text] We live in an age of institutional crisis. We see in the various facets of life that obsolete organizations loose their attraction while those seeking a community are looking for forms more suitable for today's man. Miklos Tomka's studies show that this is the process which takes place in the world of religion as well. Traditional forms are weakening and disappearing but, at the same time, independent and active religious communities are born. The emergence and proliferation of these groups, which are called basic communities, project the possibility of the development of a new kind of religious model.

[Question] What were the circumstances that resulted in this religious change and how can the essence of this new religious model be summarized?

[Answer] During the 2,000 years of its existence, Christian religiousness simply became a habit, a natural way of living for people. I am not saying that there were no people who continued to believe honestly but most people lived in this culture as a matter of course. The entire system of religion and church resembled a house of cards which is being built higher and higher but just a little wind makes it to go down like ninepins. The analogy is imprecise in that Marxist thought assumed earlier that only this house of cards exists. It is becoming apparent now that there is something else behind it, a few germs promising the unfolding of an independent life. While the house of cards was standing, these germs were in the darkness and now that the collapsed walls do not hide them anymore, they began to develop.

[Question] Many people consider these initiatives as a sign of continuation of the religious tradition.

[Answer] Organizationally, a centralized religion and church has existed for 1,000 years, led by a clergy, rooted in the state and non-religious life as well. Its ever-increasing role was a historical necessity. It was the basis of cultural, health, and social activities for which the church's wealth and financial power was needed. This resulted in a power

that the church could not give up if it wanted to continue these roles. Trouble was that this status was in contradiction with the church's original, strictly religious objectives. As a result of this grave crisis of identity, the church's purpose became questionable. This is why many people think it was beneficial to nationalize the church's possessions, saying that this way it can begin to implement the real Christian life model. The question is, how.

[Question] What other changes took place which made the answer more difficult?

[Answer] The point was not only the nationalization of church property but also that of its institutions. Before the war the network of religious institutions was three-fold, consisting of the diocesan and parochial organization, the monastic orders, and the religious societies. This network was shaken in its foundation. The churches and the pulpits remained but the church was pushed back to a small territory of life, into the sphere of free time and private life. This was when the question was raised by both the church and society whether or not there is a possibility in a developing socialist society for developing a model that begins with private life and encompasses the entire world concept.

[Question] Many clergymen try to speak in their sermons about questions that emerge in people's every-day lives. What kinds of attitudes could you, as a sociologist, separate from this aspect?

[Answer] This kind of sermon is rare even in the large cities. But even where it exists, the problem is that, on the one hand, the clergy is overburdened with pastoral duties and, on the other hand, it is rather isolated, lacking the life experience necessary for taking a useful stand in the important questions of every-day life. What should one do when everyone around him steals and expects the same from him in the name of collegiality; what should the female secretary do when approached by her boss; is it right to diminish production; what is more important: to make an extra 2,000 forints or to spend an extra 2 hours with the family? Many clergymen give theoretical answers to these questions that are meaningless for the believer. In studying the sermons, 2 clerical strategies become apparent. The first tries to strengthen a kind of contrary standpoint through simple interpretations of the Bible and through an emphasis of traditional moral and ideological views. The other is somewhat more concrete by comparing God's world with the existing world. But the latter also forgets that solutions to people's problems must be found in this concrete world; instead of telling what to do, it tells what not to do.

[Question] You also wrote that the clergy is aging rapidly. Almost 60 percent of them were older than 50 in 1980. At the same time their number decreased by 25 percent in 20 years, and this trend will continue to the turn of the millenium. You say that a possible effect of this may be that part of their sacramental work will by necessity be delegated to secular persons. This assumption leads to the organization of small communities. But let us first say a few more words about how the young clergy, which grew up in the present society, views these changes.

[Answer] In the '50's the state had an extremely harsh church policy which hardly mellowed after the years of direct confrontation. The church's reaction was defense which is always a hotbed of traditionalism. The state's church policy made it impossible for a long time to have a clergy that was more open to socialism. It is a small but significant detail that while the teaching of philosophy has a traditionally high standard, no seminary offers any training in the social sciences to speak of. For this reason, ministerial training is somewhat esoteric. In spite of this, there are two views even within the church. One considers, in spite of all signs of decline, the strengthening of the old model more important than the support of the revived religiousness. According to the other view, Christianity is primarily not an organization but a way of life implemented in the community. But the communities thus created sometimes do not exactly fit into the framework of the church.

[Question] Then both parties, the small community as well as the large church organization, suffer from the tension.

[Answer] This is, of course, not only a Hungarian characteristic. This duality exists world-wide with the important difference that while in other places the representatives of the two different views communicate with one another at various forums, in our country there is no dialog as a result of the abolishment of the church's mass organizations and the church's overburden. These small groups are isolated from the church leadership, indeed, they are isolated from one another because of a lack of possibility for organization. The danger is--and this is also a social danger--that the old churches that were unified in a sociological sense are being replaced by a network of unrelated communities, each of which is looking for, and finding, its own model of its concrete attitude. Both the church and the state are hardly able, or unable, to influence this. We are speaking of the expression of real needs and thus they cannot be abolished; allowing public debates may be the path of unfolding.

[Question] Is this phenomenon a reflection of a more general trend, namely, that kind of healthier division of labor between the institutions and the smaller communities is beginning to develop? As a result of the recognition that the large institutions are unable to solve many problems? The new forms have a right to exist not instead but along with them. The real question is, then, how the two can be integrated. For this, though, one must be familiar with both.

[Answer] Many people think that Christianity is the most sensible way of life for it includes a guidance in every-day activities, and is able to advise, in harmony with the world concept as a whole, on communal-social life. These people consider their own Christianity not a private affair but a communal one. Where 2 or 3 people congregate in my name, I am among them--they quote Jesus, continuing that more people must congregate for Jesus to be present. They add that Jesus demands mutual love among his followers. Thus Christians with identical views meet to discuss their every-day affairs and the ways in which they can jointly act in the interest of others, jointly praying to God to help them in this. They consider life in the community, for the community, and for others with the help

of the community, the most sensible form of human existence. For this reason they are willing to accept many things, including work and effort or even social disadvantages, thus becoming rather immune to any outside pressure. Their stamina and strength is based on this consciousness. It is unthinkable that a group of rock-and-roll fans would last for 5 to 10 years. On the other hand, many members of religious communities, who are now parents and even grandparents, joined these communities as young persons. And the community is still together.

[Question] You mentioned the tension between the old and new religious models. You also mentioned the lack of a regular contact. Is there any reconciliation between the various views?

[Answer] Most communities find it necessary to have their roots in the Christian tradition. They undertake the religious self-education, regularly reading the Bible together, in addition to having their church services. Thus, formally, they are not outside of the church. Among the new forms of expression, it was music in which rapprochement was easiest. Beat Masses and religious popular music are mostly accepted within the church. There are efforts to integrate spontaneously developing communities into the congregation. This is made more difficult by structural obstacles and by the fact that a large part of the communities became rather independent in their views. At the same time, the traditional church model lacks the forums in which nonconformist views can also be debated.

[Question] Who are the members of these basic communities?

[Answer] The number of communities that have been active for at least a year are estimated to be between 4,000 and 6,000; the number of members is roughly between 70,000 and 100,000. This is not basically a Catholic phenomenon, for there are several communities in which the members come from various denominations. Mainly two ages--and two life styles--are attracted: the time of awakening young consciousness between the ages of 16 and 20, and the period between the ages of 25 and 30 years when young families are faced with the problems of raising children. The phenomenon is definitely urban. While earlier it was the village that was religious, faith is now spread mostly by university and high school graduates going to the provinces. Most members are such graduates but in no way can we consider these communities as an intellectual subcultural phenomenon. It is perhaps only the category of the manual laborer that is missing--all other strata are represented. Originally, most communities were organized around individual clergymen. However, the clergy's participation is limited by their decreasing number and time, their role often being nothing more than advising and keeping the contact with the organized church.

[Question] Earlier we considered these communities as the forms of turning away from society.

[Answer] Today we may consider them a successful enterprise of social integration which may have a significance even beyond the world of religion.

9414

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HUNGARY

INCREASES IN TOURISM REGISTERED FOR 1985

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 16 Jul 85 p 1

[Article by zs.g.: "Tourism Increased During the First Half of the Year: The Number of Tourists Rose; The Guests Stayed Longer; The Hard Currency Balance Is Positive"]

[Text] They used to say that if the dress rehearsal is a failure, the premiere is certain to be a success. Something like that occurred in our tourism this year, because few visitors arrived during the early period, and the country's hard currency income derived from tourism showed a decline compared to 1984. Since that time, however, statistics reveal a promising trend.

According to the most recent reports of the National Tourist Office, as of the end of May already 2.8 million foreigners had visited Hungary, which is approximately 20 percent more than the number of visitors during the first 5 months of 1984. Within this figure, the number of tourists grew in a similar manner, and the length of time they spent here increased at an even higher rate.

Passenger traffic from countries using ruble accounts increased by 10 percent. Two-thirds of the 1.5 million visitors came as tourists and on the average spent 5 nights in the country, that is, one more than the 1984 average. In May, the ruble income grew by 35 percent; thus, the results of the first 5 months were only 12 percent below the base figure. (Between January and April the deficit was 25 percent.)

The active Yugoslav tourist traffic continues to develop in a dynamic manner, and the qualitative indicators remain good.

Tourist traffic and hard currency income from the capitalist countries show gradual improvement. The number of tourists grew by 16 percent, while the length of their stay in Hungary grew by 25 percent. Figuring in dollars, hard currency income during the first 5 months fell below that 1984 figure by 8 percent, but during May this deficit was rapidly decreasing. (Income from capitalist tourism showed an index of 86 percent during the first 3 months, 88 percent during the first 4 months, and 92 percent during the first 5 months.) The decrease in hard currency income was attributable to the decline in hard currency exchange. At the same time, the traffic organized by the travel bureaus and hotels, or the income of stores accepting convertible currencies showed a significant increase.

As of the end of May, 1.4 million Hungarian citizens travelled abroad, 1.2 million of them to socialist countries. Our balance of payments derived from international tourism for the first 5 months of this year showed a surplus of 32 million convertible rubles and 36 million dollars.

12588

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HUNGARY

'SOCIALIST VALUES' REJECTED BY CHANGING SOCIETY

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 18 Jul 85 p 8

[Interview with Mrs. Zoltan Vancsek, research director at the Theoretical Institute of the Trade Unions by Attila Melykuti: "In the Wake of Changing Values; Where is Society Going?"]

[Text] Tarogato Street climbs up the hill next to a huge, well kept park and building surrounded by giant trees. A sign on the gate: Theoretical Research Institute of Trade Unions. This is the kind of second district environment of which the citizen says: If by chance I could move in here as an inhabitant, not even a hurricane could tear me out. This is a measure, a value, the area of consciousness that is researched by the Theoretical Research Institute of Trade Unions. To begin our interview I asked research leader Mrs. Zoltan Vanicsek:

The One Who Has Respect...

[Question] Why does a picture of a house with a garden, the desire to have one, represent a value in totally different social strata?

[Answer] Behind our actions and expectations it is very frequently our values we find in the background. Values we carry with us from the examples of our parents, teachings of our schools, readings, and experiences of working years. Values that we constantly reevaluate in the painful process of fulfillments and disappointments, or clashes with everyday interests.

Great social changes have the effect of an earthquake on the system of social relations. They move the solid foundation under the various institutions, organizations and people representing them. They shake apart the connections binding them, herald a new ideology, new values and ideals, and build a new system of relationships. Similarly, sudden changes in values result from accelerated social changes, among them abrupt modifications in the economy.

In the complicated process of socialization, people continuously measure their system of values against the system of ideas articulated in social ideology, and will internalize only those values that stand up to the test



of reality. Not once, not twice, but many times, since numerous reinforcements are needed for values to become fixed. Individual values that were shaped in the process of socialization frequently contradict values encouraged and recommended for adoption and articulated in the ideology as ideals, and clash with real interest relations of society. This is particularly true for the above mentioned accelerated phases of social changes. In such periods interests come to the foreground that help individual survival in a period of radical social changes. Frequently they are negative--among others, cynicism--that distance people from internalizing social changes and in this way they serve to protect the old self. This phenomenon can be observed particularly in groups that do not have a strong enough belief in the necessity of social changes, or are fundamentally opposed to them.

Since the introduction of the economic reform in 1968, along with the sometimes halting and sometimes accelerating changes, we, too, frequently experience the clash between principle and practice. Several sociological studies have proven that larger groups have more difficulties with keeping pace with modifications and this causes social tension....

The above mentioned defense mechanism starts to work when, for instance, the interest relations of reality contradict the system of ideas conveyed through ideology. If, for example, in ideology we praise work done in the interest of society, without compensation, but in reality we have to pay for everything, and only people with money are respected, then this situation obviously depreciates the value of social work. Similarly, if, in opposition to the basic principle of equal wages for equal work, stipulated in the system of social ideas, in reality we consistently experience that wages for work depend more on the framework of institutional forms than on the amount of work, it becomes clear that the principle of distribution based on work will suffer.

[Question] Your research has primarily focused on the goal, interest and value structure of the basic organization of trade unions. What changes are typical of the views on trade unions?

[Answer] We have asked in many discussions: What does the trade union give its members? We expected the participants to articulate their expectations about the union and to voice the causes of their possible dissatisfaction. The answers we received were very different, just as the composition of the membership of the trade union is extremely varied. As an example, here are a few replies: "It behooves one to be a trade union member, particularly in certain jobs, or positions. To cancel membership is quite a problem, and I believe it would have negative consequences...." "It depends whom you are talking about. There are people who receive a lot of benefits from the trade union, but unfortunately, this does not always reflect the principles of justice...." "If a trade union officer speaks up for a worker, the management will deal with the worker's problem. Because they are not dealing with just a worker, but with an organization that has expectations about management."

Of course, these examples do not give enough basis for generalizations. But our research so far has proven that compared to its previous great

importance in educating workers, the role of trade unions has diminished, practically vanished. In the past, as a first step in belonging to a union, trainees and young workers joined libraries, glee clubs, nature clubs and attended seminars. Today, however, trade union libraries have a hard time competing, say, with the network of the Ervin Szabo Library of Budapest. This is true both for the standard and membership. Another example: art groups fight a bitter battle of survival under the contradictory pressures of profitability and the money losing proposition of mass education.... Analyzing the process we may say that the trade union's role of dispensing culture is on the wane, as the means of education and culture in our society have become available to everybody.

#### Constant Balance

[Question] What do the processed data tell us about trade unions?

[Answer] Similarly to the above mentioned area, we have experienced the depreciation of the value of belonging to the union. We may say that trade union membership is, in general, not proud of its affiliation. Perhaps two elements play a determining role. One is the rise of the organizational level. The index is around 96 percent. And the above quoted statement that "it behooves one to be a trade union member" also indicates that people join the organization and pay their membership dues who do not even know what they can expect of it. Let us admit, the union cannot expect much of them, either.... The other element is that the revolutionary element of the union has lost its importance. Parallel with the fact that the trade union has become a partner in political decision-making, organizations have by necessity developed and are now capable of a dialog with the state apparatus; and in order to be deserving of this partnership the functionaries of the movement had to obtain an adequate level of professional knowledge and build equal relations. Meanwhile the hierarchical relations of the inner structure have strengthened and become similar to the system of relations within economy and state management. Although cognizant of this, the trade union defines the strengthening of its movement nature as a constant goal and considers active relations with its membership as a continuous task, the objective tendency outlined above has a constant balancing effect.

#### The Two Sides of the Equation

[Question] These years of accelerated economic changes, the "devaluation" of old truths, or growing numbers of small enterprises have created a noticeable disturbance in choosing values. There are frequent debates on how to interpret the relation to work, and recently it has often been stated: the right stipulated in the constitution does not declare a right to a job....

[Answer] From the previously promoted values of larger community society has turned to the values of individual, material wealth. This process does not by far radiate development. It indicates a return from the distant ideal of socialism to the cognitive, economic and social reality of the present. Naturally, the undergoing process has not left the various

institutions and organizations untouched, as the processes take form through them and in them. In the past we said that work was the best protection of interest, and the trade union protected interests the best if it effectively helped the production process. Today the two sides of the equation have switched places. We say that the trade union helps production the best if it effectively protects the interests of workers. Trade union membership expects primarily this effective interest protection from its elected representatives and paid functionaries. Related demands refer primarily to just distribution based on work and a trade union role in it. People do not accept economic priority if this means the liquidation of jobs (their jobs). They consider total employment an achievement, and relinquishing it would mean an assault on the deeper truth of socialism.

[Question] Among the new possibilities for raising economic effectiveness the suggestion is frequently heard: companies have to be relieved of social tasks.

It is indeed so, and the suggestion is frequently justified by stating that this is one condition of selection which is based on the effectiveness of production work. We have to see, however, that this "purge" is only possible without losing values if these social benefits were made available at a higher level through a central system of institutions, guaranteed, to everybody.

12366

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26 August 1985

POLAND

## MINISTER ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Jun 85 p 3

[Interview with Lech Domeracki, minister of justice, by Krystyna Chrupkova:  
"Questions to the Minister"]

[Text] We carried the first part of the conversation in RZECZPOSPOLITA No 142. Today we publish the second and last batch of our readers' questions and responses by Minister Lech Domeracki.

[Question] The principle of nominalism applicable in our legal system is the subject of general criticism, and rightly so. Indeed, if I lent someone 50,000 zlotys 5 years ago, this very sum repaid today amounts to an entirely different value. We can forsake the argument over how much exactly it is. What are the prospects for modifying this principle?

[Answer] At this point, I can only say that we are aware of this issue and it is being discussed.

[Question] Can district court judges be afforded the opportunity to solicit legal opinions directly from the Supreme Court?

[Answer] I absolutely do not see any need for that. The current system whereby provincial courts solicit legal opinions works fine, so why interfere with it.

[Question] Will our courts be modernized or will they invariably scare the public with clattering typewriters?

[Answer] We have a program for modernizing the technology of court work (dictaphones, computers, etc). We even have funds for that, but the equipment is not available.

[Question] Several years ago, there was a proposal to merge two executive organs, the court and the administrative ones, into a unified executive organ. What happened to that proposal?

[Answer] It fell through and I do not know why. In any event, the issue is now dead.

Question The Ministry of Justice should be more sensitive to obeying the law than anyone else. Meanwhile, complaints (letters) sent to you go unanswered and get lost. If the answer does arrive it amounts to rejecting the complaint. No justification of any kind is provided - state our readers.

Answer The facts do not support this. In the second half of 1984, 40 percent of complaints out of a total of a dozen thousand were found to be justified. This is a lot, and this proves our serious approach to the matter and an increasingly profound concern with the problems of citizens.

However, petitions for retrial should not be confused with complaints. This is an entirely different issue which we have already discussed.

Question What is the role of the office of the minister of justice in upholding the rule of law? Did he ever bring himself to refuse to enter a legal act in the register maintained by the minister in the name of implementing the above principle?

Answer The routine operation of the judicial system is the primary factor in upholding the rule of law in a society.

As far as the register maintained by the minister is concerned, in 1984, registration of 51 legal acts was refused exactly due to their failure to comply with the law. This is item one. Item two: on many occasions we question the content of legal acts and suggests desirable changes. In most cases, the ministries accommodate these suggestions (actually, our register embraces ministry-level regulations which are not published in DZIENNIK USTAW or MONITOR POLSKI). Only in two cases did the dispute involve the prime minister who arbitrates between the minister of justice and other ministers in matters of that kind.

Question A person was arrested due to an error made by a medical expert. The provincial court corrected the error of a lower court by acquitting the accused and awarding him an adequate indemnity; however, nobody corrected the error of experts. Is there a legal way to invalidate this testimony?

Answer No, it cannot be invalidated, but if it is incorrect and the citizen suffered damages due to it, he can take the persons who have given this testimony to court.

Question Do the courts have influence over the work of experts and if yes, which courts? As is known, currently this accounts in part for the sloppy performance of the judicial system.

Answer Only partial influence, because the court can fine an expert, can even remove his name from the list of experts. However, neither this nor the insufficient number of experts are at issue. For experts, the financial disincentive for giving too much testimony is a problem because if they do they pay high progressive taxes. I have approached finance minister Nieckarz in this matter, but he refused to grant exemptions to experts arguing - and for a good reason, too - that setting a precedent is not socially justified.

[Question] The issue of top-level officials of the 1970s has resurfaced as well as the attendant question: why have these persons not been prosecuted?

[Answer] A sea of ink has been used to write about this issue. I will repeat once more that we cannot equate matters of politics with criminal matters. If someone has brought about damages as a result of political decisions he is brought to account politically. This kind of penalty has been meted out. However, if any of the persons involved has been implicated in a criminal act, then the punishment is meted out in accordance with the regulations of the penal code.

[Question] An issue up the same street: prominent individuals (managers, state officials, etc) are not subject to criminal prosecution for waste and mismanagement. At the same time, a worker is always put behind bars for petty theft, for example, carrying wire out of the plant.

[Answer] Setting managers against workers, prominent individuals against humble ones is nothing but demagoguery. Their chances are the same in the dock. There is a "however," though. Indeed, article 217 of the penal code regulating penalties for waste and mismanagement is worded in a way which limits quite severely the opportunity for the judicial system to intervene in such matters. Indeed, a negligible percentage of persons are brought to account for these deeds, which somewhat distorts the actual state of affairs. It is exactly due to this that the article should be modified. Currently, work on drafting new wording for the article is underway in parliament.

[Question] Can guilt be established solely on the basis of testimony by one interested party under article 210 of the penal code? Why is an acquittal not possible?

[Answer] This article concerns robbery. With all due respect, who else is there to tell the court about the actions of a bandit other than the person he has robbed at night on a deserted street? This is especially true in cases when the perpetrator rejects the accusation and pleads innocence. Of course, the court must establish whether the witness is falsely accusing the suspect or telling the truth.

Certainly, an acquittal is possible under this article. I do not at all understand how one can doubt it. An acquittal is possible in any case as long as the court comes to the conclusion that the charge was incorrect or that convincing evidence of the suspect having committed the crime is lacking.

[Question] While we are at it, why is it that the judges must explain themselves exactly when the verdict is "not guilty?"

[Answer] With all due respect, this is not true. The judges do not have to account for any verdicts. An oversight body inspects the operation of courts.

[Question] Clear rules for applying for a court candidacy are lacking.

[Answer] On the contrary, the rules are exceptionally straightforward. According to these guidelines we must hire the best.

[Question] The law on so-called "social parasites" is not quite working out. What measures of a tax nature are taken against those having unidentified sources of income?

[Answer] The minister of finance should respond to this question. On my part, I can state that we are preparing to change this law in order to make it more effective especially in the executive aspect. As far as the registration aspect is concerned, it does not raise essential objections.

[Question] The parliament has passed a law toughening and extending penalties for crime. In this context, what are the estimates of the future population density in correctional facilities?

[Answer] Correctional facilities should not at all be filled with convicts. We hope that the very passing of these laws will play a preventive role, that is to say that the awareness of higher penalties will in a sense become an element deterring unlawful actions. Time will show what the real outcome will be.

According to the wishes of many readers, we informed the minister about the cases requiring, in the opinion of our readers, his personal attention. Interested parties will receive answers directly from the head of the ministry of justice.

9761

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POLAND

## PRON'S ELECTION DECLARATION EVALUATED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6-7 Jul 85 pp 1,2

[Text] There still remains a good deal of time before the coming Sejm elections on 13 October but the problems of these elections have already aroused much public interest. This interest has especially been increased by the publication of the Election Declaration of the Patriotic Movement for national Rebirth [PRON]. Today's edition of RZECZPOSPOLITA includes the latest reflections of working people on the substance of that declaration. This is what we heard:

Kazimierz Bien, chairman of the Worker's Council at the Jelenia Gora Polfa Pharmaceutical Works: On the basis of my own two years of experience, I must say that worker self-management councils and self-management in general are necessary. They are not necessary to the authorities who can manage very well without them but to the workers, the people and society. Therefore, the statement in PRON's Election Declaration that worker self-management should grow and be strengthened has gone against all public expectations.

Individual worker self-management councils may work better or worse but the people feel that they have no influence. It cannot be hidden that some people have been disappointed. Many thought that the introduction of these councils would bring us an Eldorado, that pay and productivity would rise and that we would catch up with the West. However, to improve our standard of living, we must work for years and years. The hurrah of optimism can only astound one.

It is just as damaging to make the worker council operate under hothouse conditions. They must be allowed to grow, reach certain conclusions by themselves build up their authority themselves because it is only then that they can become a permanent institution and defend their achievements. The Election Declaration says that we must arouse the initiative and enterprise of worker councils and I would only agree with that if the conditions necessary to this initiative can be created. However, under no conditions should it be imposed from above or the methods used be dictated.

Ryszard Luczak, chairman of the Cultural Commission of the Poznan Provincial PRON Council: Reading the declaration, there was one fragment that most interested me as a long-time cultural activist, namely, the passage in which PRON calls for the creation of better and better conditions for comprehensive, cultural and intellectual development of the individual and universal access to cultural values.



We know that the workers at large plants are one of the main communities in which culture is propagated. The workers fulfill important inspirational and culture-generating functions and they are also extraordinarily receptive. Unfortunately, the economic reform in its present form has brought about a considerable weakening of cultural activity in plants and places of employment. Self-financing firms count every penny and many of them feel that it is "safest" to save by scrimping on culture.

However, nothing could be more wrong. Cultural life may not be limited to factory libraries, musical groups or discotheques. Essential spheres such as the culture of the work place, interpersonal relations and the ability to act with dignity and culture under different stressful situations continue to lie fallow.

I feel that these are the areas that in the nearest future must receive the most attention both in terms of public cultural activities as well as in the professional movement. Universal access to all cultural values is one of the leading goals of the newly-elected Sejm deputies.

Renata Wlodek, employee of the Center for Technical Cadre Improvement, Wroclaw Provincial Council of the Chief Technical Organization: I am of the impression that the PRON Election Declaration is somewhat too general and also too specific. This does not mean that what it says does not interest me. What most impressed me was the appeal for responsible, conscientious and hard work. In this regard in particular, things are unfortunately not as they should be. In industry, time and materials are being wasted. If people worked more conscientiously, our stores would look entirely different by now. I recently read that losses to reclamation of poorly-made products, shortages and shoddy manufactured goods cost us 700 billion zlotys per year.

I feel that that an appeal is not enough. The Sejm must work out a more specific program to prevent such wastefulness and poor work.

12261  
CSO: 2600/930

POLAND

## PRE-ELECTIONS PERIOD CHARACTERIZED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6-7 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] PRON has opened election information points and announced its political credo. A bustle has begun to rate the Sejm candidates. There are many persons of varied experiences and political persuasion willing to run for office. Doubts have been voiced and emotions are rising. After all, our society is not united in its views about many things. This is quite natural but these differing views are not always constructive.

The antigovernment opposition has thought up new tactics to oppose the elections. First of all, it is spreading around nonsense and slogans like "Do you want to go hungry? Then go vote". As if passive opposition to anything and everything the government proposes is supposed to put more bread on the table! With the coming elections, we will also most certainly find many amateurs of ambiguous views. Let us think about the meaninglessness of this slogan. In their behavior, such amateurs identify themselves with those who made up that slogan.

The pre-elections period has given birth to various passions and attitudes. A known composer was asked to write songs whose lyrics are supposed to support the election campaigns. He replied that he is interested only in pure art. This may be true, especially if he is part of a community of "clackers" who use their negation of politics to hide their professional hatreds. All over the world, show business makes money from presidential or parliamentary elections and no one is especially surprised.

There are certainly also those strongly feel that there is no point in even having elections. If we are to change anything, we must have a government. They forget that the worker masses have many times over the last 40 years refused to support people who are so negative. The political power of individuals and groups becomes ephemeral and a false mandate if it does not find the necessary public support. For example, leaders who know that their public support is weakening will try to find justification for what they call their historical mission. A classic example is President Reagan who was elected to his first term by just one-third of the registered voters and to his second term by just one-fourth. By the very nature of things, such a president will always take up an anticommunist crusade and to stir up the

indifferent masses, he will speak about external threats, etc. He will then look for alternate means of mobilizing public support.

Do Poles feel threatened externally? We do not feel any physical threat to our nation. Just the opposite. The position of the Soviet Union in the world and therefore that of the general arrangement of forces based on strategic equilibrium guarantees our security. The crisis has made us look at only our own everyday interests and the prospects for the coming years. However, more and more often, life is forcing us to reach for the horizon of the beginning of the next century. We must protect the physical, moral and intellectual condition of the people against ecological dangers and a loss of faith in our own nation so that we can stand up to the technological challenges and high level of organization of some societies. These thoughts are most certainly valid, says the reader, but what do they have to do with the elections?

The elections are supposed to give us a new Sejm, one that would be guaranteed to clearly understand the obstructions and opportunities of the future and set right the process of law in the state. Such a Sejm would be able to preserve the historical continuity of everything constructive in the recent political achievements of the government. We now have a new election law which is called the Sejm electoral ordinance. In many essential ways, it is an entirely different law from the one that regulated the mechanism of elections over the past 35 years. We can choose between two candidates by eliminating one of them. One can therefore express his feelings about the national list of Sejm candidates.

Everyone of us wishes for public and economic order in the country with no more threat of crises. We are becoming a nation of law. We want for the decision-making process in the state to be based on democratic rules and therefore ones that allow different ideas to be expressed. These needs are supposed to be met by the deputies who will be elected in October.

It was enough to change the method of government used by the state in the last few years so that the outgoing Sejm was revived while public faith in the deputies was given in the social sense of their mandate. As a result, the party lines in Sejm commissions have for critical reasons often disappeared for the good of all rather than for any group interests. These positive trends should be taken up and enriched by new deputies.

An election is legally valid if half of the authorized voters go to the polls and the winning candidate has received a majority of votes. In an extreme case, a deputy can be elected by just one-fourth of the nominal voters. We do not have any detailed studies of voter behavior. Studies such as these make sense if elections are not of a plebiscite nature. We gave up the plebiscite formula last year during the people's council elections. The political needs of our state and its international prestige required a higher voter turn-out than before. I would estimate a fairly high (70-80 percent) voter turn-out for the coming elections.

We continue to contemplate the best way of forming socialism in Poland or in other words, how we are to match the historical and specific situational active factors with the constitutional requirements of socialism to reach a

high degree of economic efficiency, the necessary social efficiency, political satisfaction with personal commitment to everyday work. Foreign centers hostile to our state are counting on low voter turnout. Those friendly to us predict just the opposite.

The strings of Polish affairs are drawn by international banking, government centers for foreign policy planning, foreign propaganda centers and, on the other hand, also by the planning commission and the central committees of the parties of our fraternal socialist nations. However, the main ball of string is still to be found on the Vistula. Some say that it is multicolored and that Polish affairs are not of just one color. This is true except that only the legal government of Poland, that between the Bug and the Oder, can unravel this ball of string. And it is therefore not a matter of indifference how the outcome of elections shapes one of the most important elements of this government and still the most important one in setting the style of government and the political climate in the country. Voter turn-out and therefore the scale of public support for the newly-elected Sejm deputies will also be a matter of no small importance to foreign observers and sometimes even those that make decisions on Polish affairs.

This brings us to the conclusion that voter activity and a public feeling of civil responsibility are a real necessity and responsibility. "The opposite to this necessity and responsibility," wrote the Catholic philosopher Professor A. Grzegorzczak, "would be an attitude of criticism to one's environment in which a person wants everything to change according to his own needs and expectations while he refuses to change himself or accept any responsibility for the benefits or problems of his own or others" (A. Grzegorzczak, "Filozofia czasu proby" [A Philosophy For A Time Of Trial], Warsaw, PAX, 1984, p 123).

12261

CSO: 2600/930

POLAND

## PARTY ACTIVITIES CALENDAR

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 3 Jul 85 p 21

[Text] 27 May - 9 June 1985

### 20th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee

12-13 June: The 20th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee was held in Warsaw. A Politburo report titled "Problems in improving the political and organizational efficiency of party activities" was read by Tadeusz Porebski. Following plenary discussion by 36 comrades, the following resolutions were adopted:

- on starting preparatory work for the 10th Party Congress;
- and new regulations for selecting PZPR Sejm candidates.

At the conclusion of the plenum, a report was read by Central Committee First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski.

### Session of the Central Commission for PZPR, ZSL and SD Cooperation

14 June: A meeting of the Central Commission for PZPR, ZSL and SD Cooperation was held on this date. Wojciech Jaruzelski, Kazimierz Barcikowski and Tadeusz Porebski represented the PZPR. The nation's social, political and economic situation was evaluated and the tasks of to be implemented during the upcoming Sejm elections by signatories of the declaration on PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] were discussed.

### Central Committee Politburo Session

19 June: A joint meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium took place. The implementation of a resolution passed by the January 1983 joint 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee was evaluated along with the present situation of agriculture and food management.

The Central Committee Politburo received information on the execution of the law on the system of peoples councils and territorial self-government.

#### Conferences and Meetings

11 June: The Central Committee Commission on Law and Rule of Law discussed the realization of the 17th Plenum's resolution on establishing the rule of law and public order and discipline. The conference was conducted by Deputy Politburo Member and Internal Affairs Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak and Deputy Politburo Member and National Defense Minister General of Army Florian Siwicki also participated.

The Commission on Resolutions and Recommendations established by the 19th Central Committee Plenum evaluated at its second meeting the distribution of the documents and decisions of the 19th Plenum in inter-party work and by the mass media. The meeting was led by Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk.

Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski met the leaders of an official delegation in Poland for the Czechoslovakian Culture Days. Present at this meeting were Czechoslovakian Communist Party Secretary Jozef Havlin, Member of the Slovakian Central Committee Politburo Ludovit Pezlar and Slovakian Central Committee Politburo Member and Minister of Culture of the Slovakian Socialist Republic Miroslav Valek. A delegation of artists and representatives of Czechoslovakian artistic unions and associations was received by Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon.

10-11 June: The All-Polish Seminary of Party Sociologists organized by the Central Committee Department of Science and Education was held in Warsaw.

12 June: Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek received an official delegation under Czechoslovakian Communist Party Secretary Jozef Havlin that was visiting Poland for the Czechoslovakian Culture Days.

Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak received the editorial board of NEUER WEG, the organ of the German Socialist Unity party, and its chief editor, Werner Schulz, visiting Poland at the invitation of the editorial board of ZYCIE PARTII. Also participating in this meeting were the GDR's Ambassador to Poland, Horst Neubauer and the chief editor of ZYCIE PARTII, Igor Lopatynski.

13 June: Deputy Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk received an official delegation under Czechoslovakian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Jozef Havlin visiting Poland in connection with the Czechoslovakian Culture Days.

14 June: Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski took part in the 11th Congress of the Polish Tourist and Local Studies Society [PTTK].

Politburo Member and Vice-premier Zbigniew Messner meet the leaders of the Chief Technical Organization [NOT] and the Polish Economic Society [PTE].

Zbigniew Messner informed the group about the work of the 19th Central Committee Plenum's Commission on Resolutions and Recommendations and government activities to realize the decisions made by this plenum.

Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski met with the radio, press and television correspondents of the socialist states and their press attaches and informed them of the progress and results of the 20th Plenum.

15 June: Central Committee First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski met Ali Yata, secretary general of the Moroccan Party of Progress and Socialism.

Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak met with participants to the All-Polish Seminary of Party Lawyers organized by the Central Committee Department of Science and Education.

17 June: For her [illegible number] birthday, Central Committee First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski sent Janina Ignasiak-Minkowska, the famous activist of the international worker's movement, a letter of congratulations. The letter was presented by First Secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak.

Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski took part in a party-program conference of the Committee of Radio and Television which was dedicated to the problems of the young generation. The conference was broadcast over television and radio.

A conference of the chief editors of television, press and radio agencies was dedicated to the mass media's tasks for the period preceding the upcoming Sejm elections. Politburo Deputy Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk and Central Committee department directors Bogdan Jachacz and Jerzy Majka took part in this conference.

Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk took part in an open meeting of the Polish Press Agency's primary party organization in which he discussed the results of the 20th Central Committee Plenum and the tasks that it has set for the mass media.

18 June: The Central Committee Interparty Commission discussed the monitoring of party work in construction firms in the provinces of Bielsko-Biala, Piotrkow Trybunalski, Poznan and Walbrzych that was conducted by the Central Committee Departments of Political Organization and Economics. This meeting was led by Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak and Politburo member Stanislaw Kalkus also took part. During the second half of this meeting, Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski was elected chairman of the Interparty Commission.

Politburo Member Stanislaw Kalkus and the Central Committee Marine Commission were informed of the results of public consultation on business variants of the National Public and Economic Plan for 1986-1990. This meeting was directed by Politburo Member Stanislaw Bejger.



The Central Committee held a conference of department and sector directors from the various provincial PZPR committees. The conference was conducted by Central Committee Political Cadre Department Director Wladyslaw Honkisz.

19 June: Central Committee First Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski visited the Museum of Caricature in Warsaw to see an exhibit titled "The 1905-1907 Revolution in Caricature". He was accompanied by Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon and Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski received the leadership of the Central Union of the Blind on the day before its 2nd Congress was held.

Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak met David Khenin, politburo member and central committee secretary of the Israeli Communist Party.

20 June: A meeting of the Supervisory Council and Electoral Assembly of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" People's Cooperative Publishing House was held. At this meeting, a report on the cooperative's activities in 1984 was reviewed and its 1985 plan was confirmed. The meeting was led by Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk.

21 June: Central Committee First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received a visit from Mikhail Solomentsev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the CPSU Party Control Committee. Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, and Soviet Ambassador Aleksandr Aktsenov also took part in this conversation. M. Solomentsev visited Poland on 17-21 June as the head of a Soviet party delegation which included the chairman of the Party Control Commission of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and Ivan Kachur, the chairman of the Party Control Commission of the Brest-Litovsk District Committee of the Belorussian Communist Party. Our Soviet guests also had conversations with the Politburo members Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski and First Secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak.

22 June: A group of 23 delegates of worker and communist party press organs arrived to celebrate the anniversary of TRYBUNA LUDU. The guests were received by Deputy Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk.

#### Party Instances and Organizations

10 June: The Bialystok Provincial PZPR Committee discussed the role taken by the intelligentsia in the growth of the province. Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski took part in this conference.

The Pila Provincial PZPR Committee outlined tasks for party instances and organizations in its work with the province's intellectuals. Director of the Central Committee Department of Information Jerzy Majka took part in this conference.



The Konin Provincial PZPR Committee discussed how the worker character of the provincial party organization is to be strengthened.

The Zielona Gora Provincial PZPR Committee held a discussion on the role of women in the social, economic and political life of the province.

11 June: The Rzeszow Provincial PZPR Committee outlined the tasks set for the provincial party organization by 19th Central Committee Plenum. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek took part in this meeting.

The Elblag Provincial PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of the intelligentsia in the social, economic and cultural development of the province. Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek took part in the plenum.

14 June: The Torun Provincial PZPR Committee evaluated realization by the provincial party organization of the 9th Plenum's resolution on work with youth. The director of the Central Committee Department of Youth Affairs, Leszek Miller, took part in the meeting.

The Lodz party newspaper GLOS ROBOTNICZY is celebrating its 40th anniversary. At a ceremony honoring this event in Lodz's Great Theater, the newspaper's editorial board met with First Secretary of the Lodz Municipal PZPR Committee Tadeusz Czechowicz, Director of the Central Committee Department of Press, Radio and Television Bogdan Jachacz, Chairman of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" People's Cooperative Publishing House Wieslaw Rydygier and secretaries of the PZPR provincial committees of the Piotrkow Trybunalski, Plock, Sieradz and Skierniewice provinces.

Deputy Politburo Member and Rector of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences Marian Orzechowski took part in the ceremonial opening the "Raclawice Panorama" in Wroclaw.

15 June: Politburo member and Vice-Premier Zbigniew Messner participated in Press Day in Katowice Province.

17 June: The Biala Podlaska Provincial PZPR Committee discussed the problems of improving party work in the light of the decisions made by the 20th Central Committee Plenum. The discussions were attended by Central Revisions Committee Chairman Kazimierz Morawski and Director of the Central Committee Bureau of Letters and Inspections Marian Kot.

At a joint meeting, the Szczecin Provincial PZPR and ZSL Committees examined the problem of intensifying agricultural production and food management in this region for 1986-1990. Taking part in these discussions were Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek and ZSL Supreme Committee Secretary Kazimierz Olesiak.

The Walbrzych Provincial PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of party cells in the social and political activation of the intelligentsia. The director of the Central Committee Ideological Department, Wladyslaw Loranc, took part in this discussion.

The Wroclaw Provincial PZPR Committee discussed the extent to which its three resolutions on health care, construction and transportation have been realized.

18 June: Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski took part in a meeting of the branch party organization at the K-2 division of the Adolf Warski Shipyards in Szczecin.

The Piotrkow Trybunalski Provincial PZPR Committee discussed the state of health care and social welfare in that province.

19 June: The Bielsko Biala Provincial PZPR Committee discussed the state of the natural environment in that province.

20 June: The Krosno Provincial PZPR Committee discussed the role and tasks of intellectuals in the light of the resolution of the 20th Central Committee Plenum. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski took part in this discussion.

The Przemysl Provincial PZPR Committee established the directions and tasks for party work in the sphere of economics. The meeting was attended by Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski.

At a joint meeting, the Leszno Provincial PZPR and ZSL Committees evaluated realization of the basic directions for the growth of this province's agriculture from 1982 to 1985. Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Messner and ZSL Supreme Committee Secretary Kazimierz Olesniak participated in this meeting.

The Olsztyn Provincial PZPR Committee examined the problems of the growth of socialist democracy and the functioning of people's councils and territorial self-government in the province. Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak took part in this meeting.

The Plock Provincial PZPR Committee assessed activity to promote the socialist education of youth and the role of the intelligentsia and the educational community in this process. Director of the Central Committee Youth Affairs Department Leszek Miller was present.

The Central Committee Commission for Public Recommendations, Complaints and Signals ended a two-day session in Kalisz which was dedicated to the problems of realizing the resolution of the 9th Central Committee Plenum. This session was led by Politburo member Albin Siwak.

21 June: In a session led by Politburo member and First Secretary Marian Wozniak, the Warsaw PZPR Committee examined the modernization and structural changes of the capitol's industry. This session was also attended by Politburo Members Kazimierz Barcikowski and Albin Siwak and Minister Wladyslaw Baka.

The Chelm Provincial PZPR Committee established the role and tasks of the province's intellectuals in the light of the decrees of the 19th Central

Committee Plenum. This meeting was attended by Deputy Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk.

The Tarnow Provincial PZPR Committee assessed the state and distribution of party forces and the functioning of that province's party instances and organizations. The session was led by Politburo Member and Provincial Committee Secretary Stanislaw Opalko with the participation of Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Messner.

A delegation of foreign journalists arrived in Lodz to take part in the anniversary celebration of TRYBUNA LUDU. Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee Tadeusz Czechowicz met the guests.

The International Party School in Katowice observed its 40th anniversary. In recognition of its achievements, the school was awarded the party standard by a Politburo resolution. Participating in the ceremony were Politburo Members Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski, Vice-Premier Zbigniew Messner and Jerzy Romanik.

The Factory PZPR Committee at the Stalowa Wola Steel Plant concluded its evaluation of that plant's management in a meeting attended by Politburo member Stanislaw Kalkus.

22 June: At the Revolutionary Monument in Lodz, there was a great demonstration to celebrate the 80th anniversary of the 1905 Revolution. Taking part in this ceremony were Politburo member and First Secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee Tadeusz Czechowicz and Deputy Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk.

The Executive Board of the Warsaw PZPR Committee met with the editorial board of TRYBUNA LUDU on the occasion of that newspaper's anniversary. The meeting was conducted by Politburo member and First Secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak.

#### Interparty Cooperation

31 May - 8 June: A group of long-time activists in the Polish worker's movement arrived in Leningrad and Moscow to visit historical places in the life and work of V.I. Lenin.

Director of the Central Committee Department of Political Organization Kazimierz Cypryniak who had come to Spain for the Congress of the Catalanian Communist Party was received in Madrid by Secretary General of the Spanish Communist Party Ignacio Calle.

Taking part in the holiday for the Mexican communist party, the United Socialist Party of Mexico (PSUM) a PZPR delegation under Deputy Director of the Central Committee Department of Press, Radio and Television Czeslaw Rowinski was received by General Secretary of the United Socialist Party of Mexico Pablo Gomez.

8-17 June: A delegation of the Central Committee of Cuban Communist Party under Humberto Rodrigues Manzo, director of the Central Committee Public Opinion Center, arrived in Poland. The delegation held a conversation with the Central Committee Information Department and its director, Jerzy Majka. At the end of the visit, the guests were received by Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk.

17-22 June: A delegation of communist and worker party representatives from Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guinea, Honduras, Columbia, Costa Rica, Paraguay and El Salvador arrived in Poland. At the end of their visit, the guests were received by Politburo Member Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski.

12261

CSO: 2600/929

POLAND

WARSAW DAILY CHIEF REPROACHES CHURCH FOR ANTI-STATE ACTIVITIES

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28, 29-30 Jun 85

[28 Jun 85 p 6]

[Article by Zdzislaw Morawski: "Of the State and of the Church"]

[Text] In recent months, especially since the murder or perhaps since the trial of the killers of Rev. Jerzy Popieluszko, in Poland and well as beyond the borders of our country, more is said and in a sharper tone about relations between the state and the church in Poland. I am not referring to official government statements, for they are usually very cautious and emphasize the immutability of the state's policy on religion. This assertion, regardless of improvised changes in tone is, in my opinion, much more plausible than many assertions by various governments of the world about the permanence of their policies.

The church hierarchy, at least in official documents, refrains from any kind of candid appraisal of relations with the state. Rather one hears on its part either complaints about certain moves or decisions by the government, which are almost exclusively political and which therefore do not enter into the realm of direct church activity, or cautiously but clearly formulated stipulations, naturally based on moral grounds, which do not make demands on the state but have a clearly political stamp on the modern Polish map.

And these statements, although one could easily and effectively dispute them, are not a real novelty under our circumstances. All world literature agrees that regardless of some friction, relations between the Catholic church in traditionally Catholic Poland with the powers that have ruled in this country for 40 years, whose nucleus is composed of a party professing Marxist philosophy and thus opposed to all religion on the ideological plane, are invariably not only good but under the circumstances exceptionally good.

Presenting evidence in this matter would be pointless and not very tactful. For whatever is said in our strange country about the position and place, stronger than before the war under bourgeois governments, of the Catholic church in socialist Poland, one immediately hears two reactions that call to mind the monotonous sound of the cuckoo clock. The first reaction, arising from premises pretending in a simplistic way to be Marxist, amounts to a melancholy lament: And where were we (Marxists) for these 40 years, what have we achieved in the ideological arena during the life span of nearly two

generations, why haven't we settled with the church finally and conclusively and so on.

The second reaction, simplified like the first, promotes the following argument: The Communist state (there is no such thing--my footnote) has done everything it could to crush the church, to bring it down, overwhelm it and erase it from the face of Polish soil. But the power of Polish faith, Polish Catholicism, the Polish national identity, etc., etc., is so great and all-encompassing that "they" have not been able to do it and the church is strong because it fights. No matter what the circumstances.

As to the first reaction, I could point to certain important evidence that, regardless of the policy of tolerance, in matters of viewpoint carried out by all Polish leaders up to the present group, there have been several important changes in the social consciousness of Poles regarding matters of faith and the principles of coexistence that flow from it. I would be firmly opposed to calling a referendum in our country on the subject of maintaining or suspending laws on divorce, for example, or on the subject of laws on family planning and population control. For this would be a move leading to disagreements between believers and non-believers and thus extremely harmful, not to mention provocative, from every point of view.

On the other hand I am deeply convinced that if such a referendum were held, God forbid, it would turn out that the great majority of Poles, and thus those who see themselves as believers, would vote for divorce and an overwhelming majority for laws on population control, the opportunity to use birth control methods and so on.

Thus the legislation introduced in these and other areas by the secular Polish left is treated today as an accomplishment by all or nearly all of our society. It is a triumph of planned assumptions that have met with the broadest public support. And above all, it is in this way, not through administrative restrictions, that one can prevail in the ideological struggle that has been and is being waged, which in any case no one has ever concealed.

Similarly naive and contrary to history is the second argument that the church is strong because it did not allow itself to be crushed.

Certainly the Polish church is a great moral and social force in our country. It is also true that it fought and continues to fight to defend or spread its philosophy. But if it was able to carry on this activity for the past 40 years, it is not only because of its position and various historical, moral and political conditions. The church was able to do this because relatively early on, already in 1950, it accepted the rules of the game. I am referring to the first agreement between the church and state, whose 35th anniversary we recently celebrated and the later, second agreement and numerous other arrangements regarding the level of relations with the state.

This agreement, which overcame the obstinacy of part of the episcopate of that time and which ignored the opposing policies of Pius XII, was entered into by Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, whom some contemporary Catholic journalists so

readily call the Primate of the Millennium, negating all the accomplishments of that great man by their attitude.

But let us not get ahead of ourselves. Let us recall now that this agreement was a milestone on the road to coexistence and dialog between the church and people's socialist state, which acknowledges a Marxist party as its guiding force.

I do not intend to forget what occurred later, including the arrest and long imprisonment of the primate and several other church officials, the attempt to introduce the policy, ominous for the future of the nation, based on changes in the methods of pressure on the Polish consciousness, mentality and sense of dignity. Yes, this is all true; these are facts that had and perhaps to a certain degree still have their price. But it is also true that Wladyslaw Gomulka, first secretary of the PZPR's Central Committee, who rekindled difficult but necessary dialog with the church and who brought about the second agreement, was also imprisoned, much longer than the primate, in poorer prison conditions and under a much more serious sentence.

If we are to use our memory objectively, we must say that in those years considerably more Communists than clergy landed behind bars. The struggle that went on at that time concerned matters much broader than religious policy, not only among the Polish left.

Without returning to a discussion of that matter, let us say only that the Polish church, thanks to the policies of Cardinal Wyszynski, his closest associates and a number of secular advisors, was able to find its place in socialist Poland, was able, in years when conflicts having the mark of civil war were occurring, to condemn covert anti-state activity (even while individual priests stood at the head of anti-Communist groups), was able to find its particular role in its concern for fighting the social plagues that were so acutely manifested in the segment of society demoralized by the war and migrating in great numbers and finally was able to find its own place in the struggle to consolidate the historical achievements of People's Poland, to participate in the long and difficult battle for the final acceptance of Poland's western borders and adapting the church's organizational and territorial structures to the boundaries of the Oder and Neisse. State policy opened up these possibilities. They were used by the church for the common good of all of us.

It would be a lie to assert that the church's coexistence with the leaders of the social state was every easy. I think this is impossible because of the nature of things. Yet if one ignores a relatively short period, three or four years in the first half of the 1950s, it was a coexistence based on the state's acknowledgement of everything related to the church, to religion, as in keeping with Polish tradition and identity and our national, Catholic, but at the same time popular, customs. It was coexistence based on the church acknowledgement, often tacit but always evident, of the role and tasks of the Polish state, the popular state, in which historical postwar changes in policy, organization and territory placed difficult and in a sense pioneering tasks before the church as well.



On the part of the state and its institutions, were there never any attempts at tendentious administrative limitations of the church's religious authority resulting from a lack of tolerance. Yes, there were such attempts--the ill-remembered administrative war with the pilgrimage through Poland of the portrait of Our Lady of Czestochowa for one--provoked, and this is also true, by the episcopate's unfortunate move, related to the Letter of "Reconciliation" to West German bishops without the government's consent. The letter, regardless of how one judges it, was a step into the realm of foreign policy, fraught with consequences which the bishops, unaccustomed to thinking in diplomatic, national terms, did not foresee and later the majority admitted this unofficially.

The various interpretations of "what is Polish and what is Caesar's" are not peculiar to Poland. In the postwar history of church-state relations in Europe and America I could find numerous similar or considerably more acute controversies or disputes.

Regardless of these irritations and other resistance, Poland was and remains a country of religious and philosophical freedom, a country in which the policies of the socialist state never, even in the first half of the 1950s, proposed the liquidation of the church or its relegation to the role of a museum-folklore institution, but acknowledged its place; accepted, by observing the separation of church and state, freedom to teach religion without agreeing to the church's attempt to monopolize culture and did not hinder the development of religious thought, Catholic culture, art and literature, the Catholic or religious press and many other structural forms of the work of Polish Catholics.

Didn't this kind of policy, consistent and atypical, bring benefits to Poland and Poles, believers and non-believers. I believe that all of us, regardless of our point of view, can answer, yes, it did bring benefits!

For the doubtful on either side of the philosophical partition I will merely recall that in 1956, during the great tensions of October, Primate Stefan Wyszynski call for voting without deletions in the elections to the Sejm while Cardinal Mindszenty call for overthrowing the socialist system in Hungary. We remember well the the consequences of both positions. If we add that the Polish primate remained in the memory of the entire society and entire church as a great Pole who combined the attributes of a leader of the church in Poland with the talents of a statesman, and Cardinal Mindszenty, after a barren 20 year stay in a foreign embassy in Budapest, was recalled from his position by the pope and died in exile as a controversial figure who symbolized the model of the church that after the Second Vatican Council in some ways went on to the warehouse of history.

What is the final conclusion of these necessarily abbreviated discussions? We are led to the formulation of several, I think simple truths.

First, the policy of the Polish church, based from the first postwar years on dialog, on limited but clear accord with the Polish state, the state that emerged and has existed since the victory over Nazi Germany, has over the long



run turned out to be a policy consistent with the realistically conceived interests of the country, including the faithful and the church.

Second, the policy of the Polish state was and continues to be a policy of tolerance in the realm of philosophy. Such a policy and its effects, as well as confirmation of the Polish church's position, particularly in moments of crisis ominous for the future of Poland, protected our country from many potential threats, through long decades allowed us to live in exemplary harmony and respect between believers and non-believers and avoid sharp conflicts such as those in Italy between secular and Christian forces. It allowed us to survive without bloodshed the many tensions and storms that under other circumstances could have degenerated into bloody conflicts.

Finally, a very general conclusion: Calculating who gained and who lost under the religious policy of the past 40 years--who came out on top, the church or the state--is a false calculation in its assumptions. For this policy brought enormous visible benefits to all of us in Poland.

Why now, in mid-1985, is it necessary to look backward and formulate a statement that is in fact obvious?

This must be done because of the apprehension that arises in all those who have in their heart true peace among people of good will and the manifestation, especially in the most recent period, of the distressing events that threaten--let us hope in a manner possible to overcome--the good principles of the difficult coexistence of state and church discussed here.

But more about this in the next article.

[29-30 Jun 85 p 3]

[Text] In the previous article the discussion (in its conclusions) was about the distressing events threatening the coexistence of the state and church in our country. Now it is time to say what events we are talking about. I believe that despite the fundamentally changed, tougher--especially in the period 1980-82--internal situation in Poland, despite familiar tensions and emerging need to surmount them by declaring martial law, the relationship of state leaders to the church has not changed.

These leaders were accused of a great variety of things in the West. But no one, even the most extreme critics of our country and its government, was able to find grounds for statements on the deterioration of church-state relations. The notorious reports on the observance of human rights in the world, which the US administration publishes illegally twice a year, confirmed each time that in this realm conditions were good.

Despite the state's broad efforts never to come into conflict with the church, under circumstances that without this are difficult and full of tension and menace, regardless of conditions extremely favorable to the church, here and there, precisely during that period, there appeared tendencies to politicize its activity.

This did not happen without a reason. The suspension and later the dissolution of Solidarity, while an underground still existed as an anti-state, anti-government movement but not as anything resembling a union movement, placed enormous pressure on church structures. In the atmosphere of deep divisions in society, all opposing forces or the merely reluctant authorities saw the church or its individual structures as their most most convenient protector.

In observing this phenomenon, which had a purely political rather than a religious nature, one must also note the varied response to it within the church. I feel we were dealing with two basic trends.

The first trend was and is guided generally in the activity making up the realm of relations with the state by the principles of realism, the principle of acknowledgement of the place and role of the church in Poland, formed under present governmental conditions, by appreciation of that position, by understanding the threats to it and by seeking, through maintaining the defined status of church, the ways and means to rational, sensible coexistence, in accordance with tradition, symbolized in the Polish church by the practical road of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński.

By strange or not so strange coincidence, this line is the subject of constant attacks on the part of various circles in the West. High dignitaries of the church are roughly attacked, not only in West Germany, but in the emigre press, in the Parisian "Kulture" and Radio Free Europe. Even stranger, these attacks do not elicit polemics on the part of the Polish religious press, including those whose co-workers or co-editors in "Kultura" have been writing for years. One sometimes gets the impression that these attacks are quietly accepted by some of the intellectual leaders associated with the religious press.

As is evident, the lot of realism in the Polish church is not easy either. Without intending to lament over that lot--because that is not my job--I would like to say that in the bosom of the Polish church, another trend is working which, simplifying of necessity, I would call mystical-confrontational.

In the intellectual sphere, this is a trend that desires to convince all believers that Poland after martial law is the moral, historic equivalent of post-revolution Poland. This mystification leads to further perilous assertions. By analogy it leads to the conclusion that there is no Polish state and the church should supersede it to the highest degree, that they--the "reds," as is so beautifully said or whispered--are first of all the root of all evil, political as well as moral and secondly, are not true Poles.

On the basis of these premises, sometimes presented from the pulpits with a virulent mixture of hatred and ignorance, there emerges, not entirely spontaneously, the image of a purely political church, interwoven with the underground into one fabric, making up the antithesis of the Polish state and the most advanced line, not of the philosophical struggle (that is a matter of faith and is legitimate), but the political one. For the point is not philosophy, but everything that typifies by its origin, its achievements, its political and governmental structure our common fatherland, People's Poland.

In recent months numerous statements in this vein, frightening in their obstinacy, have been quoted from a number of clergymen who luckily make up a clear minority of the Catholic clergy. I do not intend to include new quotes here.

There are clergymen who feel that the mystical-confrontational line is beneficial to the church, that it strengthens its influence and builds its place in history. What a faulty assertion. The immediate influence the church gains on the basis of the aforementioned premises is political, not religious. Most of this influence depends on the tactical support of secular forces, often unfavorable to religion, and even scornful of the "ecclesiastical yokels" who serve as "porters of someone else's baggage." I have serious doubts as to whether supporting the influence of any church, not to mention the Polish church, lies on a political platform. Recent decisions by the Vatican clearly deny the usefulness of such influence, although unfortunately it is sometimes applied selectively--only on forces of the left, never or almost never on forces of the right.

Danger lies in something else as well. In the realm of morality, in matters of religion, tested mechanisms peculiar to our circumstances and the rules of the game are binding. As a rule, if someone steps onto the political path, the rules of the game are different, like everywhere else in politics.

In the West one hears the assertion that church-state relations in recent months have been subject to aggravation or deterioration because there have been attacks in the press on priests practicing politics from the pulpit and on the events associated with this in the church. Yet no one has considered whether the facts subjected to criticism, i.e., the definite, strictly political involvement of some priests aimed at the interests of the state or its system, could be unnoticed, could be seen as insignificant. Well, no. Because the rules of the game in politics, in a country where political struggle has been particularly acute, are different from the rules of coexistence, established not without friction, controversy and disputes in our country over the past 40 years.

I do not know if the press or only the press is the best place to work out the state's religious policy. Personally I have serious doubts about that. But none of use can have delusions. Attempts made here and there in the church to move relations with the state to the political, confrontational plane cannot help but elicit definite responses from the government. Such is the machinery of public life, which has its own ironclad rules, defined for a century.

We cannot neglect to mention one more issue here. According to the government's unanimous conviction and public opinion here and abroad, the abduction and murder of Rev. Jerzy Popieluszko was a political provocation, conscious or not, directed against the line of the PZPR's Ninth Congress, also represented by the state with its premier at the forefront. In observing certain actions by the clergy, certain statements, acts and feelings after that great tragedy, one could come to the sad conclusion that that provocation achieved its political goal in a certain sense, that consistent with the conscious or unconscious intention of the murderers, sentenced to long prison terms, the criminal act, despite bold counteraction by the government,

sharpened church-state relations and thus to a certain degree shook one of the pillars supporting everything that serves the worth community of Poles in their own country, having its own traditions, its own individual culture and its own consciousness.

We have more than enough complications in Poland to create new ones. That is why, without saying that some units of the government do not bear some part of the responsibility for unnecessary tensions and conflicts, and admitting that here and there there does not appear to be sufficient activity, willingness, flexibility or tact to maintain dialog with church representatives, one must still see the future of these relations as it looks in reality.

We all have a great achievement in having shaped them on the tried and true principles of 40 years. We may not disturb that achievement; we must strengthen and broaden it. To this end, respect of the accepted, tested rules of the game by everyone is essential:

--separation of church and state, not the mutual antagonism one hears about lately, not on the part of the state,

--abstention by the church from politics, from interference into the sphere of governmental authority, with acceptance of the principle that the boundary of "what is God's and what is Caesar's" is not an idea that functions automatically, but rather demands constant, staunch verification, with acceptance of the principle that the church works within the state and not--as it appears to some--the state within the church,

--respect in practice at all levels, but above all in intellectual life, of the principle of philosophical tolerance. And again, it is not on the part of the state that one hears here and there voices promoting the spirit of a crusade,

--acceptance of the premise that there are no better or worse Catholics and rejection of the assumption--also not having its source in the state--that Catholics who seek philosophical justification for socialism are worse, less Catholic than those who are in a different position. In any case, the problem, contrary to some opinion, is not only our problem, a Polish problem. Recently it has been taking on a much broader dimension beyond Europe, lately reaching with a distant, returning echo to our soil.

Are the principles enumerated here only in general outline some sort of unattainable plan, some mythical assumption? No. On the contrary, they are in large part concepts tested in practice, enjoying the acceptance of the overwhelming majority of Poles. They are also our accomplishment and one of the guarantees of the success of all concepts and intentions having as their goal renewal, including moral renewal, on the way to reform, to struggle against tendencies to restore what is bad, what has not proved out and has outgrown its usefulness in our country, struggle for the development of that democratization and democracy necessary to all of us, regardless of what we think about earthly and future life.

And that is why, in concluding my lengthy arguments, I want to express the hope that relations between the state and the church, that their cooperation in all areas where it is possible is necessary will be strengthened in the future, that tendencies threatening to all of us will abate, that realism, common sense, mutual tolerance and true patriotism will prevail over them.

12776

CSO: 2600/907

POLAND

TEENS SURVEYED ON POLISH INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 22, 1 Jun 85 p 3

[Text] How does the complicated modern reality of Poland appear to school children? During the last school year I conducted polls among 1035 students (mainly from the third and fourth grades) from 20 different high schools of north-eastern Mazovia. Students from general education high schools (46 percent) and vocational schools (36 percent) predominated. Girls (61 percent) outnumbered boys. Only one in five classified himself as coming from an intelligentsia family.

December 13, 1981 will certainly go down as one of the turning points in Polish history. How do young people, who, when all is said and done, have their own views and feelings, understand all these complicated conditions, circumstances etc. which led to the imposition of martial law? The students were asked: "Can there exist situations which authorize the government of a given country to impose martial law?" The majority of respondents (81 percent) answered yes. Most frequent were opinions such as: "Yes, but for a short period of time." One in ten students considered it inadmissible.

Over half of those polled considered that the course of events at that time represented a threat to the socialist system. That opinion was expressed more often by students from peasant families than by those from intelligentsia families. Over 40 percent of those questioned thought that "a continuation of the situation of December could jeopardize the unity of the socialist states." The majority affirmed that "martial law ensured conditions for safety and clam", "martial law prevented civil war." Half the student expressed the opinion that "martial law could have been avoided, but only if "Solidarity" has behaved differently.

The enormous differences in viewpoints expressed by students from different schools, however, gives us much to think about. In one school more than 80 percent of those questioned indicated that martial law averted civil war, while in another school nearby, only 36 percent said so.

In recent years many initiatives and actions have been undertaken to democratize political economic life. Hence the question of how reliably institutions and various organizations function. How does the younger generation perceive their activity?

Here is how some organizations fared (percentages indicated answers of "yes" and "on the whole, yes".)

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Percentage of total number of people questioned</u>
Church	85 percent
Army	70
Academy of Sciences	64
Sejm	51
Council of State	48
Youth organizations	40
Trade unions	35
Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth	22

This hierarchy doubtless reflects certain specific features of the region studied: its peasant character, a certain cultural backwardness, small intelligentsia. It would be interesting to compare these results with the opinions of young people from other regions and groups.

We were also interested in the young people's attitudes toward various forms of protest: strikes, putting up posters, occupying buildings, collecting signatures for petitions, etc. The attitudes expressed were cautious and reserved. These methods found only a few supporters, and by and large were rejected.

Only some of the young people showed an active interest in current events and in what is happening now in Poland in general. 39 percent answered that they were interested "to a great extent"; 31 percent said "not much, or not at all"; 24 percent answered "hard to say"; 6 percent has not answer. Television news is systematically watched by 7 percent of the total; 43 percent watch it a few times a week; 43 percent rarely or never watch it.

The students questioned are aware of many of our national shortcomings. "Poles are good at talking, they can fight heroically, but they don't know how to do an honest day's work." 67 percent of the respondents agreed with that statement. But they also see positive points: "Poles are capable of independently resolving disputes and conflicts in their socio-political life" (79 percent). Optimism can also be seen in their assessment of the present situation: 91 percent consider that Poland has a chance to emerge from the crisis.

Almost all the students questioned realize that with the level of existing arsenals, the outbreak of war would threaten mankind with extinction. The answer to the following question is symptomatic: "In our view, would any attempt to change the borders between the camps of the socialist and capitalist states inevitably lead to World War III?" The majority (61 percent) was aware that it would lead to armed conflict. However, one in five answered the opposite. Interestingly, in the views which concern us there



were marked differences among different schools, but there were some in which only part of the students perceived the threat of the outbreak of World War III, while the overwhelming majority did not perceive it. More than half the students expressed the opinion that "Poland's alliance with the Warsaw Pact is a guarantee of our independence." 22 percent did not share that view.

These results clearly show the insufficient effectiveness of measures aimed at overcoming attitudes indicating a lack of confidence. Of concern is the fact that the trade unions and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth enjoy authority only among a few of those questioned. Young people do not question socialism, but they see the difference between its principles and everyday realities (76 percent).

Answers to the question of how strongly various factors influenced the transmission of national traditions were very characteristic. The school came only in seventh place in that hierarchy. Most of the students questioned thought that the schools didn't provide reliable information on the present situation in the country (75 percent). This particular attitude is an especially alarming fact.

9970

CSO: 2600/834



POLAND

COURT RULES FOR CENSORSHIP, AGAINST SELF-GOVERNMENT GROUP

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Jul 85 p 5

[Article by (w1): Self-Government Versus Directorship, Laws Regulating the Press"]

[Text] The Warsaw provincial court on July 28, 1985 rendered its decision in a dispute between the worker's council at the Semiconductor Production Development Center at "Cemi" in Warsaw and the director of that establishment. The point in question was a footnote eliminating this type of censorship, which was considered a part of the regulation governing publications made by the worker's council.

The director deemed this stipulation unlawful in view of the decree handed down by the Council of Ministers, dated July 9, 1984 in the matter of institutional closed circuit television and radio installations. This ruling proclaims that the communication network falls under the jurisdiction of the establishment's director.

The provincial court, under the auspices of judge Edward Sadowski, set aside the regulation's controversial reference, acknowledging that since the decisions of the Council of Ministers decreed that the broadcasting of informational material requires the approval of the network's manager, whose responsibilities are regulated by the director of the establishment, then the director has the right to censorship; therefore, the clause in question is in opposition to the ruling.

This judgment has no legal validity.

12306  
CSO: 2600/897

POLAND

# SHARP COMMENTARY ON CONTEMPORARY MANNERS, VALUES

Warsaw KULTURA in Polish 19 Jun 85 p 15

[Article by Stefan Kozicki: "Dying of Laughter"]

[Text] Having spent the proper time standing in line for the inestimable EXPRESS [WIECZORNY] (reading this periodical is not nearly as important as showing up in the line at a newsstand which signifies superior cultural aspirations) in reward for my patience I learned from its pages that in France "specialized international gangs" attack armored cars transporting money. In Marseilles, it even involved the use of a ground-to-ground missile. A spectacular bloody massacre allowed the gangsters to lay their hands on several million francs.

Our readers may disapprove of me, but I can do nothing but confess that upon learning the news my patriotic fervor got a great boost. I tried to imagine "a specialized international gang" ambushing a car transporting several million Polish zlotys through the streets of Gdansk, the Marseilles of Poland--and try as I might I could not. My imagination was blocked - and for a very good reason, too - even when I substituted several dozen for several million. Thus, it turns out that we are better than the French because we are not in fear of any specialized international gangs. One can even say with every passing year we are less and less in fear.

From this standpoint, we live peacefully and slowly at a pace pegged to the movement of the line for rationed meat towards the counter. I wrote "peacefully and slowly," but I must retract the first adjective right away. The feeling of community does not take root in lines. On the contrary, the more time the "line-standers" spend together, seemingly propping up the store wall in unison, the more ill will, jealousy and malice there is among them. In our country, very few people dream of a successful bank heist, but everyone dreams of a successful hold-up of the butchers' counter. Even an unsuccessful hold-up is worth dreaming of, because even a bungled job may strike fear into the hearts of those obnoxious broads at the head of the line. Maybe they will get confused and let us elbow our way in and be the first at the counter?

Slow progress of the line inculcates in the people spiritual ruthlessness towards pregnant women, senior citizens and the handicapped. "Here comes yet

another lame-leg!", "Another popping mamma !" - goes the wicked whisper along the "regular" line when the alternate line of the privileged ones begins to grow dangerously long. In some cases the privileged line grows longer than the one for those without privileges. Indeed, there are such cases. However, it does not happen that in that situation someone leaves the privileged line in order to take a better, closer turn in the non-privileged line. This is a fact, and a curious one, isn't it?

Recently, I witnessed a case in which a handicapped man using crutches was nonetheless swiftly and surely moving towards the counter where only a couple slices of pork roast, our national delicacy remained. His crutches slid on the slippery floor and the person using them had a spectacular and noisy fall. Having seen that people standing in line closer to the counter closed their assault formation fronting the roast ("honey, hurry along!"), and the remainder burst out in healthy laughter. To be sure, the Samaritan reflex did move someone to step towards the prostrate invalid, but even he choked his laughter with the greatest difficulty: not only did the invalid come down with a funny bang but he was also rising to his feet in an equally funny, that is to say exceptionally clumsy fashion.

We were transformed from a class to a classless society only to divide this society into classes once again; the classes differing in their relations not to the means of production but to various privileges which range from a coupon for a washing machine and a place in the line for meat to a slot on the list of contenders for the roof above your head.

At the same time our sense of humor has changed. We regard as childishly naive what we considered funny before. Something much more potent than, say, 20 or 30 years ago is needed to make us laugh. What is needed is also something that would be "normally" inappropriate to laugh at. Only the abnormal circumstances and the time in which we live make it possible to go for something that should not go. Maybe, if I were a theoretician I would say that the renaissance of the so-called black humor is the issue. However, I am not a theoretician; so, instead of looking for a name and definition for the new phenomenon, I will give a simple example from, as they say, life as it is.

In the hospital room where I was staying a new patient arrived during an emergency duty period. His lips swollen to the point of being turned out revealed the oral cavity which was one huge bleeding wound. The newcomer did not talk. Only 3 days later he began to mutter something wiping off the pus flowing out of his mouth. I thought that I heard something wrong when I identified the word most often repeated in his mumbling: "Jokers, jokers!" But I was not mistaken. It is precisely with this word that the newcomer began and finished his story. What happened was that the friends of the newcomer were bored. So they pulled a practical joke on him. It was hot. When it is hot, one wants to drink, especially if he is a Pole. Have you got something to drink? - he asked. - Yes, they said, and handed him an elegant bottle. He sipped from it and, fortunately, did not gulp it down. He spat it out immediately. His joker friends ("jokers, jokers!") treated him to sodium hydroxide, also called caustic sodium, and they got what they wanted - entertainment. They were doubling up with laughter, especially when his lips

began to swell. They yelled: "Look at him, he is like a Negro!" Then they hailed a cab and took him to the emergency room. His jolly good friends could not, after all, leave in such a bad bind a buddy who had provided top-notch entertainment.

Then I recalled a story from Nowa Huta. That city was built as a socialist counterbalance for the overly bourgeois Cracow with its ossified forms of social intercourse. Several years ago, an event occurred there which was quite extensively covered in the mass media. It went like that: in the course of friendly bantering and jostling, some friends poured gasoline over their buddy and set him on fire. As a joke, only as a joke! The investigation which followed revealed that indeed no ill will was involved in setting him on fire. His friends wanted to poke fun at their buddy and indeed they did when he tossed around on the ground in such a funny way and then still on fire rushed to a neighboring shop where strangers rather than his friends, finally put the flames out.

- We did not know it would end like this - explained his jolly good friends in court.

Now, what is it - only the lack of imagination, only stupidity? No, not only this, but also a change in the sense of humor, a different perception of it, and also a different perception of "social entertainment."

Where have the tame times gone (the author of these lines remembers them well from his pre-war youth) when young people were content with the infantile games of mailman or cold-warm-hot? Where are village parties where songs were sung in chorus without any supervision by the instructor of the Gmina Center of Culture? Progress of civilization, the experience of the great war and all later minor wars and revolutions, social mobility as well as the easy access to radio and TV have pushed old tame forms of social entertainment into the twilight of ethnographic museums. New entertainment has been shaped in the mold of new times - peaceful, but very disquieting and brutal.

During your run-of-the-mill shows in cinemas (rather than on opening night screenings) I hear bursts of laughter coming from the darkness of the hall exactly when a dramatic event is shown on the screen, when someone rapes, kills or bullies another person.

Here I am watching a quite good movie with a lively plot, made without a claim to penetrating the so-called intellectual "depth," but still honored with an award at the Cannes festival. On the screen, there is an episode depicting a murder in the swamp. Two people fight, one dips the head of his adversary and holds it down. The swamp bubbles gloomily, the end is near. There is laughter, outbursts of laughter in the audience. Between these outbursts, I hear: "Boy, is he mudstained!"

It is funny when people drown in the swamp, it is funny when they are afraid, really trembling with fear - that is fun; people are dying - boy, is it funny! Help me, I could die laughing!

POLAND

# CONCEPT OF 'ELITE' INSTITUTIONS, GROUPS DEFENDED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6-7 Jul 85 p 6

[Article by Tadeusz Strunyk: "On Elites"]

[Text] In Wroclaw, I recently visited the Group of Mechanical and Electrical Schools. The term "visit" is entirely appropriate in this case as it was a school rather than a museum that I saw.

One can spend hours viewing the well-equipped lecture halls and admiring the advanced teaching methods, use of audiovisual equipment, electronics, attractive didactic aids and the excellent organization of all teaching activities. Every conversation with the students there proves that this is a school that meets the needs of today.

This is neither a miracle nor manna from heaven. The building of a modern school within the old walls of an ordinary building is the work of many years of energetic, constant work and above all, creative thinking.

When we justifiably complain about the poor state of our schools, health services, business or culture, one can still always point out that there do exist schools like the one described (or at least a department within a school that is so well equipped and organized), a well-run hospital, excellent store or restaurant, worker's hotel or club...

What is the real source of these occasional flights over and beyond the "normal level"? They are almost never brought about by any extraordinary financing or any material miracles but always by a group of creative individuals, pedagogues, doctors, economists or lawyers. It is not even the level of education that is as important as creative thinking in conjunction with the will to act and professional skill.

Let us say it: we are talking about elite institutions.

This is a term that we fear to use because in traditional thinking, an elite school or hospital is a place that exists for "a few privileged persons" and such an elite group is a one closed to all other persons. In this sense, is the Wroclaw school indeed an elite school? It is for no other reason than that it has gone beyond the average level of all other such schools.

This level has really been established by an elite group (of teachers and engineers) but it is an elite in the sense of "a group of people that for some reason or other stand out in their own circle".

In the various areas of Polish life, such elites and elite institutions are not only safe but form a guarantee of good quality and progress.

A Turkish proverb states that "you cannot lean on every tree". We can and should lean on nonexclusive elite groups formed naturally (often by coincidence) and we can do so without fear of supporting elitism or of using such a previously unpopular word because we know that supporting such elite groups in various communities will bring about progress.

The fears about the real threat of elitism (which has more than once raised its head) may not be mixed with dread at the growth of elite groups.

Every elite causes "problems": its innovative aspirations and fervent activity is often a challenge to others who must then act and decide on the new and controversial ideas and work on unfamiliar grounds that seem dangerous to them.

It is this very challenge by the elite that is that group's greatest value to society. This must be understood.

12261

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POLAND

#### BRIEFS

VETERAN ACTIVISTS TOUR USSR--From 31 May through 8 June, a group of veteran activists of the Polish workers movement visited Leningrad and Moscow, making trips to places associated with the life and work of V. I. Lenin. During meetings with the aktiv of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society and Soviet veterans, reminiscences of the struggles with the Hitler Occupation were exchanged, including memories of the liberation of Polish lands by the Soviet Army. The activists of the Polish workers movement laid wreaths before the Mausoleum of V. I. Lenin and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Moscow and at the Cemetery of the Heroes of Leningrad. The group of veteran activists of the workers movement was received by the PRL ambassador. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jun 85 p 2] 8536

NOWY SACZ DEFENSE COMMITTEE--On 10 June, the Provincial Defense Committee met in Nowy Sacz. Secretary of the National Defense Committee, Deputy Minister of National Defense Gen of Arms Tadeusz Tuczapski participated in the deliberations. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jun 85 p 5] 8536

VIETNAM EDUCATIONAL CO-OPERATION--At the invitation of the scientific secretary of PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences], Prof Zdzislaw Kaczmarek, the vice president and secretary general of the National Center for Scientific Research of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Prof Nguyen Van Dao, visited Poland from 5 to 12 June. Assessments of the scientific cooperation existing between the two states were made; research priorities for 1986-1990 were coordinated and the deadlines for joint research ventures were set up. The Vietnamese guest visited several Polish scientific institutes, including the PAN Institute for Basic Problems of Technology and the S. Banach International Mathematics Center. On 12 June, Prof Nguyen Van Dao received by PZPR KC [Central Committee] Secretary Henryk Bednarski. Ambassador Nguyen Trong Thuat participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Jun 85 p 2] 8536

DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETING IN PILA--The Provincial Defense Committee in Pila met to assess the sociopolitical situation, the state of public security in the province and the problem of civil defense. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jun 85 p 5] 8536

PZPR LECTURERS PROMPTED--On 25 June, a meeting was held in Warsaw between KC [Central Committee] lecturers and Politburo member, PZPR KC Secretary



Tadeusz Porebski. Discussion was held of the state of the party and problems of raising the level of effectiveness of party political-organizational tasks. The PZPR KC secretary devoted much of his address to intraparty issues and party work with youth and social organizations. He likewise presented fundamental problems related to the coming PRL Sejm elections and preparations for the Tenth PZPR Congress. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Jun 85 p 6] 8536

POREBSKI SEES BLOC JOURNALISTS--Tadeusz Porebski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, met with the socialist bloc's members of the press, radio and television accredited in Poland, and also with the press-attaches of those countries. At that meeting he delivered a report about the debates and decisions of the XX Plenum of the Central Committee. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15-16 Jun 85 p 2] 12470

CRIMINAL JUSTICE CONFERENCE--A meeting was held in Popov near Warsaw between the chief administrators of the Ministry of Justice and the Public Prosecutor's Office of the Polish People's Republic. A debate took place about implementing the penal policy of the prosecuting agencies and the administration of justice, and also of actions directed toward reducing crimes and other law violations. There also took place a review of the preparatory steps of the department of justice and the Public Prosecutor's Office of the Polish People's Republic towards carrying out the laws of specific criminal responsibility as well as of changes in some regulations of criminal law and misdemeanor. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15-16 Jun 85 p 2] 12470

CIECHANOW DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETS--The Defense Committee of Ciechanow province evaluated the extent of social delinquency among the school age youths and means which are undertaken to prevent it. It was pointed out that the main cause of these problems among the young people lies in inadequate parental care and lack of appropriate leisure-time activities for children and adolescents. In that context a discussion took place about carrying out the decisions of making full use of cultural and educational facilities. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15-16 Jun 85 p 2] 12470

SWEDISH UNIONISTS IN SZCZECIN--A delegation of five Swedish unionists is currently visiting in Szczecin. These delegates are representing the trade unions of government workers, hotel and food establishments' workers. They arrived in Szczecin on the invitation of local union members. The purpose of their 4-day visit is to strengthen the ties and establish more permanent contacts between the Swedish and Polish trade unions. Numerous meetings and talks were planned in the program. The main subject of the meeting at the Port Authorities in Szczecin-Swinoujscie was the work conditions of the long-shoremen as well as the methods and the style of activities of the trade union. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Jun 85 p 2] 12470



PARTY LAWYERS HOLD SEMINAR--An all-Polish seminar of party lawyers organized by the Department of Science and Education of the Central Committee of PZPR took place in Warsaw, in cooperation with the lawyers' party-collective. The head of the Collective, professor Sylwester Zawadzki, delivered a lecture entitled, "The goals of law studies in the light of the guidelines of the Politburo KC PZPR", "Basic directions of the development of social sciences in Poland" and "The resolutions of the XIX Plenum." Marian Wozniak, member of the Politburo KC PZPR, first secretary of the PZPR Warsaw Committee, met with the participants in the seminar. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Jun 85 p 2] 12470

CHRISTIAN SOCIETY MEETING--A conference of the governing body of the Christian Social Society took place in Warsaw under the chairmanship of Kazimierz Morawski, member of the National Council, president of ChSS. Franciszek Kubiczek, deputy chairman of the planning committee of the RM who was invited to the meeting, presented the main problems of the national economic policy and discussed the main course of actions in the social and economic areas for the nearest as well as distant future. The subject of the second part of the debates was the goals of the society in the light of the present internal situation of the country. Then also a debate took place about problems connected with implementing the decisions of the fourteenth general meeting of delegates of ChSS which was held in Warsaw in the beginning of last June. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Jun 85 p 2] 12470

CSO: 2600/844

ROMANIA

OPERATIONS, MEMBERSHIP OF CSCE ORGANS DISCUSSED

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian May-Jun 85  
pp 189-193

[Article by Valentin Lipatti: "The CSCE: A New Model of Negotiation"]

[Text] A decade after the signing of its final act, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe more and more seems to us, in the perspective of time to be a political event of exceptional importance in the history of the European continent.

Because of the scope of its agenda, the problems examined, and the solutions agreed upon, the Helsinki Conference has introduced a new spirit into relations among the participating countries and has unquestionably laid the foundation for building a lasting security system in Europe.

The Final Act established a code of conduct designed to guide mutual relations among the participating countries, instituted a vast action program to diversify cooperation among these countries, and, lastly, marked the beginning of institutionalization of the multilateral processes initiated by the Conference.

In addition to this, however, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has represented a model of negotiation which it is our purpose to discuss here.

The problem which in fact faced the delegations arriving in Helsinki in November 1972 for the multilateral consultations, in addition to the overall aim of the meeting represented by preparation for the Conference, was the need for defining and agreeing at the outset on rules and standards of procedure to serve as a guide both to the proceedings of the multilateral consultations and later to those of the conference proper.

The first battle that had to be fought was thus one of procedure. This is why the Romanian delegation presented a complete draft procedure, which became the first working document of the preliminary multilateral consultations. The document had not been easy to draw up, but it was infinitely more difficult to promote it and have it accepted, that is, to secure consensus by the other participants. The Romanian delegation dedicated its efforts to this difficult

but engrossing task, with a tenacity of purpose and force of conviction that surprised observers. We had to and did fight to have a democratic nature imparted to the negotiations, so as to make certain that all would participate in the proceedings on a footing of full equality. Unless this were to be guaranteed, there would be the danger that the negotiations and their results would not lead to something new. Hence we resolved, more than 48 hours before the consultation began, to deliver the Romanian draft of proposed procedural rules to the Finnish secretariat for translation and distribution as a working document of the meeting.

In presenting the draft procedural rules ahead of time, the Romanian delegation wished to make certain that, immediately after the official inauguration of the consultations the question to be discussed would naturally be establishment of the rules of procedure. This was to us a position of principle from which we could not depart, and any tactic designed to circumvent examination and agreement on clearcut procedural rules had to be fought and thwarted. However, the ambassadors accredited to Helsinki, who had exchanged views on the organizational problems of the consultations, generally speaking did not attach too much importance to procedure. It appears that general agreement was reached to operate on the basis of consensus, and as regards chairmanship of the proceedings the chiefs of mission believed that it should be assumed, in accordance with custom, by the host country, and thus by Richard Toeterman, at that time secretary general of the Finnish Foreign Ministry. For this reason, the presentation by the Romanian delegation of a draft set of procedural rules which proposed, among other things, that the chair be held in rotation by the chiefs of delegation caused considerable disquiet within the group of ambassadors. We thus considered it to be necessary, while waiting for the Romanian document, distribution of which had been delayed, to present the position of the Romanian delegation clearly to the other participants. This was done on Monday, 20 November when the Danish ambassador, A. Tscherning, who was also the dean of the diplomatic corps, invited his colleagues to a reception to put the finishing touches on the "scenario" for initiating the consultations. When the host asked if general agreement existed that Tscherning should propose the designation of Richard Toeterman as chairman, with another Finn, J. Iloniemi, as deputy chairman, the chief of the Romanian delegation, ambassador Mircea Balanescu, replied categorically that such a consensus did not exist. Romania did, of course, agree that during this stage the host country should provisionally hold the chair but without such a decision prejudicing discussion and agreement on the rules of procedure, which might also contain other provisions covering the chairmanship. The Danish ambassador took note of the Romanian position and, at the reception held at his residence, expressly confirmed the matters that had been discussed. At the public inaugural session of the consultations, he accordingly proposed that the chairmanship be exercised at that stage by the host country. Everything would have proceeded normally in public if Richard Toeterman, when expressing thanks for his appointment, had not hastened to add that he had designated J. Iloniemi as his deputy. The Romanian delegation then immediately tabled a motion of order which evoked a wide variety of comments by the many press correspondents present in the hall. The move by the Romanian delegation, which aimed neither at sensation nor at scandal, gave expression to a position of principle not directed against anyone and least of all against the host country. Only a few, however, whether diplomats or

journalists understood that the commencement of the consultations also marked the beginning of the battle for establishment of democratic standards, which had to be defined in advance of the negotiations at the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe). The move seemed to many to be unprecedented, and Romania's insistence on clearcut and precise rules for conducting the proceedings was considered to be a display of procedural perfectionism. This was the thinking not only of those who possibly were not interested in having the negotiations lead to a new approach to problems, but also of those who did not see clearly the direction in which the process of preparation and subsequently the conference itself were headed.

Some commentators and historians of the Conference later explained erroneously that the Romanian delegation had presented a motion of order to protest against the fact that the delegations of England France, the United States of America, and the USSR had three places at the conference table and all other delegations only two. This arrangement in accordance with protocol did in fact exist, but was promptly corrected by the Finnish secretariat after the Swiss and other delegations, including the Romanian, protested against such discriminatory treatment.

The battle for working out the procedural rules governing the conference was obviously a political one. In essence, the entire democratic orientation of the CSCE, and accordingly of building European security, was defined during the four days that the procedural discussions took up. Romania played a decisive role in this process, and its fundamental position was understood and supported by other participating countries, among which we should mention particularly Switzerland, Sweden, France Belgium, Poland, and Yugoslavia. The efficiency with which the Romanian delegation acted in these circumstances was due directly to the innovative conception and farsighted instructions of President Nicolae Ceausescu regarding the building of European security and the democratic ways of accomplishing it.

The political objective pursued by Romania was to secure adoption of procedural standards intended to assure full equality of rights, sovereignty and independence for each country participating in the consultations and later in the conference. The establishment of such "political parameters" at the outset precluded a different approach by individual blocs and any discriminatory procedure. This is why the Romanian delegation tabled the motion of order, to express its radical opposition to the old practices and to bring about examination of rules intended to impart a new course to the general European negotiations.

Following the lively discussions, behind closed doors and sometimes marked by tension, at Romania's proposal a provision was adopted to the effect that in the multilateral consultations the countries "were to participate as sovereign and independent states under conditions of full equality." At the same time, it was expressly stipulated that these consultations were to be "conducted outside military alliances." These formulations, subsequently taken up and introduced into the procedural rules of the CSCE in precisely these words, thus postulated participation by all the delegations in all forms of discussion and negotiation on the basis of equality of rights, and on the other hand rejected any bloc-by-bloc approach. And, as a matter of fact,

during the consultations and later at the conference there were no closed and selective working bodies; participation by all in all forms of work was ensured. The consultations had no reporters or drafting committees made up of a restricted number of members. The CSCE was itself a great collective reporter while everything agreed upon in the Final Act was based on consensus among all participating parties.

Of no less significance to the new democratic course inaugurated by the CSCE was the application of the principle of rotation in chairmanship of the proceedings. The implementation of this initiative introduced by Romania avoided the formation of a managing committee for the conference, which would inevitably have been established had bloc criteria been followed. After being partially applied during the consultations, the rotation principle was established in the procedural rules of the CSCE and in the daily practice of the conference and of all the following meetings, from Belgrade to Madrid and Stockholm. Chairmanship of all the working meetings accordingly has been, and still is, based on the principle of rotation as an expression of participation by each delegation with equal rights in management of the bodies of the conference or subsequent meetings.

As regards the prerogatives of the CSCE secretariat, it was established at the time of the consultations that the secretariat was to perform technical functions only and not ones of another nature as is the case at many international meetings, and especially in international organizations engaging in permanent activities. At the CSCE, the technical secretary had to "act under the authority of the conference" and performed no political functions, which remained under the exclusive jurisdiction of the delegations of the participating countries.

No matter how important these provisions imparting a well-defined political aspect to the consultations and the conference may have been, they nevertheless ran the risk of being eroded and later evaded if the rules of procedure themselves did not offer sufficient guarantee that they would be respected.

Consequently, Romania took active part in establishing consensus as the rule for adoption of all decisions, both fundamental and procedural. During the first days at Helsinki the idea was fairly persistent that fundamental questions should be decided by consensus and procedural ones by vote. A "hybrid" procedure such as this would have led the conference onto undesirable paths, of impasse and failure, since it is sometimes difficult to separate the fundamental aspects from the procedural ones and a "purely procedural" discussion may often conceal considerable political substance. The truth of these statements was subsequently verified when, for instance, gains were made in a fundamental problem through a procedural debate. This is why Romania, along with other small and medium-sized countries, resolved not to yield an inch in the matter of consensus as the only rule for adoption of decisions and argued with the others who did not support this viewpoint to convince them of the fairness of such a position. All the participants finally realized the advantages of consensus as the standard for adoption of decisions. Consensus was defined as the "absence of any objection expressed by a representative and presented by him as being an obstacle to adoption of the respective decision."

The consensus rule and its merits and limitations have, of course, represented and will continue to be a subject of study by legal experts and political scientists. However, a person who followed closely the the proceedings of the CSCE and the subsequent meetings had occasion to observe that the consensus rule undoubtedly imparted a new and democratic spirit to the entire process of negotiation. Consensus gave expression to the equality of rights of the participating countries and their independence of action. It represented an essential means for promoting the legitimate interests of each participating country, and was at the same time a method of negotiation which rendered the decisions much more lasting than those adopted by vote. It encouraged a search for generally acceptable compromise solutions reached in good faith and on the basis of mutual respect. During the negotiations there were, of course, attempts to avoid consensus or to vitiate it, for example, by refusal to negotiate. But such attempts were fortunately only sporadic, the consensus rule being rigorously respected from Helsinki to Madrid. It is this which can place the general European conference and its consequences (to the greatest extent in the procedure of the CSCE) diametrically opposite the "management by veto" practiced in the UN Security Council.

Consequently, from the very beginning the procedural standards and rules of the CSCE imparted to the conference and the subsequent meetings an orientation which guaranteed each participating country equality of rights and full assertion of its sovereignty and independence. In the elaboration of this new model for negotiation Romania played a difficult but extremely important role, being aware that this political treasure won with such great difficulty must never, in any circumstances, be diminished or vitiated by the practices of the past. Some political observers stated that, of all the participating countries, Romania was the most vigilant in assuring respect for and application of these standards, which, far from lapsing with the conclusion of the CSCE have characterized the subsequent negotiations in the context of the process initiated by the conference, and on a broader scale have also been applied at multilateral Balkan cooperation meetings or at meetings in the United Nations system. The battle for rules launched and won by Romania during the first days of the preliminary multilateral consultations in 1972 unquestionably represented a gain for democratization of the relations among the participating countries and for assertion of the individuality and ability to act of the small and mediumsized countries in building a European security system.

6115

CSO: 2700/176

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

YOUNG JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION--As an expression of concern for political-professional formation and improvement, the Association of Young Journalists has been established in the Journalists Council, upon the initiative of our young colleagues. The session setting up the organization took place on 14 June. A number of editors from the youth press and journalists who have worked and received their training in the youth press participated in the session. Nicolae Dragos, first deputy chief editor of SCINTEIA, made a speech on behalf of the Journalists Council. Ion Strugariu, chief editor of SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, was elected chairman of the association. [Excerpts] [Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian No 6, Jun 85 p 38]

CSO: 2700/189



YUGOSLAVIA

REPORT ON SPILJAK ELECTION AT 29 APRIL CROATIAN LC PLENUM

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 14 May 85 p 7

[Article by Zivko Milic: "Measure of the Need, Measure of the Man"]

[Text] At its 29 April meeting, the Central Committee of the Croatian LC adopted a decision of a statutory nature, which makes it possible in the next few days, as part of the regular replacement, to select a person for the post of President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Croatian LC who has held this post during the preceding 1 year period as well. Thus, although for now the Statute of the Croatian LC does not directly provide for anything like that, the Central Committee's decision in practice created the possibility and authorized the Presidium to re-elect Comrade Mika Spiljak for this position.

Except for only one opposing vote, which, as explained by the person who made it, did not call into question the personality of Comrade Mika Spiljak and his ability to perform such a high party function very skillfully, the Central Committee unanimously adopted the decision, which it is convinced will be ratified by the upcoming Congress of the Croatian LC and assessed as understandable, and optimal in the conditions under which it was adopted.

The text of the statutory decision does not mention the name of Mika Spiljak, nor did he, as the Central Committee of the Croatian LC was informed by secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Croatian LC Stanko Stojcevic, indicate that its adoption was necessary in any way, during the preceding discussion in the Presidium itself or later in the Central Committee. On the contrary, when the proposal for the candidate for the office of president was being discussed by the Presidium, Mika Spiljak insisted on the candidacy of Comrade Kalanj or some other member of the present leading body of LC; as it turned out, this was acceptable to everyone except Marijan Kalanj himself.

As the Central Committee was informed, Marijan Kalanj requested that he and other candidates for the above-mentioned post not be discussed before considering what kind of person and who could successfully bear such a burden on his shoulders, in light of the present situation in society and in the LC, and in light of the tasks facing the party leadership during the time before the next congresses of the Croatian LC and the LCY.

In a word, Marijan Kalanj indirectly raised the issue of whether all people, as individuals, are suitable for all situations, all times, and all tasks. In



effect, the Presidium was faced with the question of whether satisfying a statutory norm, which in any case, judging by the consensus that has been expressed several times in the Central Committee, will be amended at the next Congress of the Croatian LC precisely along the lines of the statutory decision adopted by the Central Committee of the Croatian LC, was more important than the basic need, at a difficult time for the Croatian LC, to keep in his post in the Presidium -- in which it has not been easy to achieve continuity in the work, as a result of the departure of some members and the necessary co-opting -- the right man, in the opinion of all the members of the Presidium of the Croatian LC.

With the risk that its position might not be understood at first everywhere and in every place -- in spite of a similar practice in all the republic party leaderships -- the Presidium suggested to Spiljak that a reelection, an extension of his term until the next congress, be accepted, proceeding from the fact that it needs the experience, soberness, and also the political skills of a proven revolutionary, from the ranks of Tito's fellow fighters, who has authority and popularity not just in Croatia but throughout the entire country as well, who, which is unusually important for surmounting the existing differences in the LCY, has an excellent knowledge of the situation in all of Yugoslavia, and whose proven political flexibility excludes unprincipled compromising, especially in regard to the basic directions and postulates of the LCY program.

In a collective leadership body, there has thus been a revival and a restoration of the validity of the criterion of a person's personal qualities and background, which had been suppressed for some time; this is not surprising, since this desirable method of work has not always disappeared completely, and since precisely where positive experiences have already been achieved, as in the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Croatian LC, the fears of strong individuals, important people, disappear by themselves, and personal jealousy becomes pointless, since, among the members of the current Presidium, there are undoubtedly many, naturally including Kalanj, who would perform this function successfully. The Presidium, however, decided on the solution that it considered best. A problem appeared, however, when Mika Spiljak, in spite of this proposal expressed in unison by the Presidium, remained stubborn and adhered to his position that someone else should be the candidate. It was only after further insistence by his comrades that he suggested that the Central Committee take a position on this, as well on the possibility, after which he would make his decision.

In the discussion in the Central Committee of the Croatian LC, which was impressive in its openness and sincerity, and which very eloquently emphasized in addition the counterarguments against the proposed decision, it was shown that the Central Committee of the Croatian LC was just as united as the Presidium. This was confirmed by the result of the public, although not secret, vote by the Central Committee that had been requested in vain by Mika Spiljak through this entire episode, until its end. The congress will show whether the membership also agrees with the decision. But that outcome should not be called into question without strong arguments, which have not been stated thus far, unless we want to undermine Central Committee meetings, since the Central Committee of the Croatian LC and its Presidium, which have undoubtedly given Mika Spiljak a great honor, did not do him a service, but rather, as Milan Rukavina-Sain suggested at the 29 April meeting of the Central Committee of the Croatian LC, charged him with a great burden and responsibility.

YUGOSLAVIA

ELECTION OF LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS DISCUSSED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 21 May 85 pp 15, 16

[Article by Jelena Lovric: "How to Elect the Central Committee of the LCY"]

[Text] "I do not know of any party that does not elect even one of its organs at its congress," recently said one of the members of the LCY Central Committee, who -- like the other members of this high party forum, after all -- was elected at a republic congress or provincial congress, with this election only ratified at the LCY congress. Although the congress is the highest organ of the LCY, it does not elect the highest party leadership, but only confirms it; the LCY congress is not the one that designates who will lead the LC during the 4 years until the next congress.

Admittedly, the statute provides for a certain possibility that the delegates to the congress will not ratify someone's election, but the statutory procedure is so complex that, probably because of it, it has not yet happened that a member of the LCY Central Committee who has already been elected in the republic has failed to "pass through" ratification at the congress. Specifically, the statute provides that a delegate who has criticisms of some election addresses the electoral commission in writing, the commission, requests an opinion from all the delegates of the appropriate republic or provincial organization at the Yugoslav congress, all the delegates at the congress are then informed about this opinion, and delegates from at least 3 republics have to support voting on a proposal to challenge the ratification, and in order for it to be adopted, at least two thirds of the delegates present have to vote for it. Is it any wonder then that what is decided in the republics and provinces is considered to be finished? The degree in which a denial of ratification would be an unexpected and unusual occurrence is best demonstrated by the incident that occurred at the first meeting of the present LCY Central Committee, when during the voting for the members of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, one candidate did not receive the necessary number of votes. After some initial confusion, it was explained that this was "the business of the republic that elected him," and the voting was repeated, this time with a more fortunate outcome.

Thus, the dilemma of how the LCY Central Committee should be elected is not at all of recent origin; there were disputes about it even before the 12th LCY Congress, but this old topic has not come up again, first in a general party discussion, and recently also at the last meeting of the Central Committee of the Croatian LC, when in his opening speech Marijan Kalanj noted that so far, in the

discussion on cadre criteria all the opstina committees had supported the determination that in the future, the congress would elect LCY bodies; the topic became even more interesting because of some slight polemics between Milutin Baltic and Branko Puharic.

#### Ruining the Well-Known

Milutin Baltic criticized the fact that the basic organizations had immediately, and without all the elements, discussed whether the LCY Central Committee should be elected at the congress or in the republics and provinces, as in the past. He warned about the possible negative features that could become a "widespread phenomenon" in the event of a change in the method of election. In view of the situation in some republics, "if someone determines who he will elect in accordance with his own criteria, this will be reduced in practice to ruining the candidate who is somewhat better known," Baltic said. He consequently feels that the present statutory solution can basically be retained. The possibilities for challenging certain candidates that are provided by the present statute are quite sufficient, although the part of the statutory provisions on ratification can be worked out so that a discussion of cadres who are criticized would not be "formalized as it is now." "Going back to what we once had could have very serious consequences today," Milutin Baltic warned.

Commenting that he did not fully understand Baltic's argument justifying his reservations, Branko Puharic emphasized that in the broadest membership, the demand that the LCY congress elect the LCY Central Committee had been expressed to such an extent that it was not possible to dispute it. Puharic admits that there may be certain problems, but if this is "approached seriously," they can be avoided.

"The essence of this position of the membership is the desire to prevent a vulgarization of the republic key in the election of the Central Committee, and to ensure that no member of it can be elected in order to flirt with republic interests. Election at the LCY Congress should be a barrier for all those who view republic interests outside of socialist cooperation. This would intensify the responsibility of each republic to avoid proposing someone for the Central Committee who does not have the confidence of the Yugoslav communists. If such a practice had been followed in the past, I think that certain things would not have happened to us, and instead there would have been a political selection at the first stage," Branko Puharic said.

A similar opinion was also expressed recently by Budimir Vukasinovic, the chairman of the LCY's Commission on Statutory Issues. He said that in the party discussion, the most dissatisfaction had been expressed with the present position of the LCY Central Committee. "The membership feels that the statute should specify more clearly its role as the highest LCY organ between two congresses, and its right and duty to be concerned with the implementation of its own positions and conclusions throughout the LCY, and thus it would even have the right to undertake measures against any organ or organization that does not behave suitably.

"The statute does not have such provisions now, and practice proves correct those who say that democratic centralism in the LCY stops at the level of the republic

and provincial organizations." Among other things, the membership sees the reasons for this position of the LCY Central Committee as lying in the method by which it is elected, and consequently in the public discussion there was a demand that it be elected by the congress, which would not be difficult to do with the use of the appropriate election equipment and prior consultations in the republics and provinces. This would shift the responsibility to the Central Committee, avoid the practice of having Central Committee members come to meetings with an "imperative mandate" from their area, and prevent the LCY Central Committee from operating in accordance with the delegate principle, which, as is the case now, makes possible the continual postponement of some solutions on which there is no agreement.

#### Two Integration Mechanisms

Similar opinions have already been heard as well at meetings of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. Admittedly, these meetings are closed to journalists, but those who have insight into the work of the Presidium have written that the opinion has been expressed there that the electoral mechanism must put the delegates to the congress in the position of actually electing the members of the Central Committee. Equal representation would be ensured by establishing separate election lists in each republic and provincial organization; the lists would contain several candidates, and they would be elected by majority vote. A reduction of the number of members of the LCY Central Committee is also being considered.

The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee has discussed the need to have the members of the Presidium elected by the LCY Central Committee through a similar mechanism, but there have not been any definite ideas about how many candidates would be on the lists and who would propose them. Admittedly, it has been said that it is necessary to develop the method of joint consideration of the proposals submitted in all the republics and provinces, in public, before the elections for the LCY Central Committee are carried out by a secret vote.

We also have a scholarly opinion: "The party does not have mechanisms that would encourage integrative activity by the leaders," feels Dr. Vladimir Goati of the Belgrade Institute of Social Sciences. He points out that the existing procedure inevitably leads to increasing the power of the republic or provincial level in comparison with the federal level. Analyzing the experiences of some workers' parties, Goati came to the conclusion that as a rule the party leaderships are elected by a body that is composed of delegates of all the members, which encourages them to take into account the interests of the entire party, and not just one part of it. If they do not behave in that manner, their chances for reelection are diminished. Another mechanism that encourages united action in most of the parties (both those in power and those in the opposition) is the influence ensured by the statute that the higher bodies have on the election of key officials in the lower bodies, which inevitably discourages any "disobedience" by the latter. Such a method acts as a strong barrier to centrifugal activity by the leaderships at the medium and local levels. Neither of these two mechanisms is in operation in the LCY; the highest party leadership is not elected by one body, but rather by 8 republic and provincial organizations, and as for the influence of the higher leadership on the election of the lower leadership, it does

exist, but only within the republics and provinces, while the federal leadership very rarely can exert a very little influence on the composition of the republic leaderships, and in the opposite direction the situation is very much the reverse.

Following the simple truth that one answers to whoever does the electing, the members of the LCY Central Committee act more as delegates from their republics and provinces, and primarily protect the interests of their narrow area. At the meetings, one can tell from what one of them says where he comes from, and conversely, one can tell in advance what someone will say by where he comes from. It is very rare for members of the Central Committee from the same republic to have different positions.

#### Reform of the Entire Elections

The sovereignty of the LCY Congress in electing the party leadership was statutorily abolished back at the 9th LCY Congress, when strong central committees in the republics and provincial committees were formed, and at the level of the LCY, instead of the Central Committee, the LCY Conference and Presidium were formed, both without any major statutory powers with respect to the republic and provincial party centers.

It was quickly seen that these solutions were not the most fortunate; even before the 10th Congress, the LCY Central Committee was reestablished, and the provision that it was the "highest LCY organ between two congresses" was restored to the statute, but it never recovered its prior position. Before the 12th Congress there were fairly vocal demands that the congress elect the Central Committee again, but either from inertia, or fear of fundamental changes, or pressure from those quite suited by the present situation, i.e. those who would be inconvenienced by the creation of a stronger and more influential federal political center, nothing was changed.

In the present situation, which is burdened with signs of the federalization of the party, in which we feel the absence of the presence of Tito, who acted for years as a strong factor for integration and cohesion, in which the negotiation atmosphere has flourished and the implementation of any changes at all is often blocked, at a time when the party membership is quite clearly and resolutely demanding a more united leadership, there are increasingly frequent and united assessments that the present "delegation" system is fundamentally weakening the unity of the Yugoslav party leadership, and that it consequently must be changed. This, however, really means a comprehensive reform of party elections, from the basic organizations all the way up to the highest level, since in order to elect good leaderships, a good Central Committee that will be more united and more effective, the LCY congress and its delegates must be elected differently, not through various coordinating committees, groups, and alliances, but by the entire party membership. All of this is part of the same story of democratizing cadre policy, and only if a different procedure for electing the highest party leadership originates from such groundwork will there be not a mere shift in the balance of forces among the different centers of power in our political life, but instead what the membership is really thinking of when it demands a more united, more aggressive, and more responsible party leadership.



YUGOSLAVIA

#### CONTROVERSY WITHIN MACEDONIAN WRITERS SOCIETY

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 21 May 85 pp 47-48

[Article by Iso Rusi: "Plot Thickens, Outcome Postponed"]

[Text] Why 5 (of 13) members of the Presidium of the Macedonian Writers' Society have announced their resignation.

The letter of resignation from Kole Casule and the other resignations that followed, or ones not yet known about, will be discussed at the meeting of the Presidium of the Macedonian Writers' Society [DPM] on Thursday, 23 May. The DPM Presidium adopted this conclusion on 17 May at a special session, in a fairly stormy and slightly impatient atmosphere. Thus, the outcome, i.e. the discussion of the resignations of 5 of the total 13 members of the DPM Presidium has been postponed for a week. After Kole Casule and Vladimir Sopov, Riste Jacev, who is also a journalist for Radio Skoplje, also announced his resignation at the same meeting, without an explanation; it has been learned, however, that there had already been previous resignations by Vasa Mancev (the editor in charge of Skoplje TV feature program), because he was "too busy," and by Tasko Georgievski (editor in chief of MAKEDONSKA KNJIGA), because of a "trip abroad."

The announced meeting will also be attended by delegates and guests at the writers' conference in Novi Sad, and there will be a discussion of the participation of Macedonian writers in that meeting.

#### How It Began

At one point in his last book, "Zapisi o naciji i literaturi" [Notes on the Nation and Literature] ("Misla," Skoplje 1985), Kole Casule says, "Even today I cannot be calm; this unrest is not an unrest of my intimate world, but also an unrest that I am picking up from my nation, an unrest that comes to me from politics, literature, from everything that life causes every day."

The latest manifestation of his unrest, temperament, and passion is the letter sent to the Presidium of the Macedonian Writers' Society and to "the Yugoslav and particularly the Macedonian public," through NOVA MAKEDONIJA, VECER, and TANJUG. In the letter, Casule resigns from his office in the writers' organization. He considers this a logical step following the speech by Jordan Plevnes, "the DPM secretary responsible for international contacts," who "rejected our revolution" from the podium at the congress of writers in Novi Sad.

Dramatist Jordan Plevnes ("Erigon," "Makedonska stanja," and "Jugoslovenska anti-teza") first of all "dug up a truth" ("from the ashes of 1968 Europe"): "revolutionaries are born as arsonists, but they die as firemen," in order to raise two "radical" issues, the first of which is obviously the cause of Casule's reaction: "can freedom given as a gift be lived as a punishment, and can someone like me, condemned to be born in freedom, have a right to his own 'private revolution'?" Continuing, he also said, "Since in the opening sociopolitical report by the prominent writer Kole Casule, 'our revolution' is repeated approximately 68 times, I refuse to share such an invasion of the same word, and publicly, on this podium, I am deleting the possessive pronoun 'our.' His revolution is not mine! Its ideals belong differently to 'us' and 'them.' An opening report at a literary congress where there is no mention of a single writer from this country, and a little herd of gloomy and semigloomy monarchoids is driven, and which at the same time does not include the name of the most famous Macedonian fascist, Vance Mihajlov, and his until recently bloodthirsty branch office -- and so such an opening report, in any case, is his and not ours.

"The postwar misuse of the word 'ours,' which is used by ideological hypocrites, has disrupted all the basic values of life, and even of death itself. Our working class, our wealth, our revolution, our people, our reality. But nothing is ours. It is all theirs. Should one believe a great Yugoslav writer who recently said, 'I do not live in this time, I endure it'?"

"The institutional and legally protected truth about the revolution is not our truth. It is a literary doubt. Only literature in this country can erect a great and indestructible monument of doubt in such a revolution."

Plevnes also cited a story (which he encountered in Paris) about "one of the most magnificent and most tragic forms of Yugoslav togetherness:" "in one camp (in Siberia), on the day of the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the October revolution, the representatives of seven Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, fighters for international communism, were liquidated. Back in the 1930's, they jointly wrote an open letter to the Comintern, from which I am extracting a sentence that could also be signed by this congress: 'Tovarishch Josif Visarionovic, the revolution will be destroyed by the obedient ones!'"

#### Something Is Confusing

In his letter, Casule first of all explains, "It is clear to everyone who is familiar with the entire text of my opening words that with the concept 'our revolution' I am speaking of 11 October, AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], AVNOM [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Macedonia], 1948, the national freedom of Macedonians and of all peoples and nationalities of the SFRY, equality, independence, nonalignment, and self-managing democratic socialism." He also says that he has always acted in accordance with his convictions and his principles, for which he has fought uncompromisingly, that he "identified with our revolution since the day when I staked my life on it," and that "my entire literary and revolutionary life is an irrefutable proof that I have never belonged to the Mafia of ideological hypocrites." Casule emphasizes that while he writes these words he knows that "without this revolution of ours...the fate of Macedonia would be the fate of prolonged, eternal slavery, and an even more severe if not final genocide in all

parts of Macedonia." Casule explains his position "that there are things that do not go together" with the words, "The fact that our liberating revolution is shameless and pathetically rejected from the speaker's platform at the congress, while at the same time, no less shamefully, numerous material advantages and even privileges are milked from it, is a practice from which I wish to disassociate myself unconditionally and finally.

Kole Casule is one of those people with a rich biography: the bearer of a 1941 service certificate, a journalist, director of Radio Skoplje and of the Macedonian National Theater, a diplomat (consul in Toronto, and ambassador in Bolivia, Peru, and Brazil), and the author of several novels and plays (recipient of two Sterija awards). From the decision to hold the congress and his coming to head the Union of Yugoslav Writers (Krusevo), to Novi Sad and his leaving that office, Casule has had countless opportunities and occasions to present himself to the Yugoslav public as an interesting interlocutor who knows and can say a great deal. It is therefore certain that he did not take this step without thinking it through, and that it is not an expression of a desire to keep an attractive presence on the Yugoslav scene at any cost.

What remains unanswered for the time being, and what is a little confusing, is the fact that, at least according to what they have stated publicly, Casule and Plevnes have more points in common than ones that separate them, especially with respect to issues related to the Macedonian nation. The slightly taken aback "cultural world" thought at first that this had to do with an unnecessary "family" quarrel, in which the dirty laundry was deliberately brought out for everyone to see.

Those "in the know" are talking about their "Novi Sad war," and considering Plevnes's speech the second act, the first one being Casule's (non)involvement (as the chairman of the main committee of the Sterija stage) in resolving the injustice done by the selectors to the Bitolj performance of "Jugoslovenska antiteza" (about which DANAS wrote in issue 166).

Also not without significance is the fact of Casule's (non) attendance at DPM meetings in the last few years. According to some sources, at the 7 May meeting of the DPM Presidium it was definitely said that Casule did not want to cooperate with his constituents during the period of the preparations for the congress, that he had not consulted anyone about the contents of his report, and that he had even carefully and jealously concealed everything until he went up to the podium. At the same meeting, some of the participants in the discussion also criticized Plevnes's speech, considering it ideologically unacceptable.

#### New Split

DPM President Gane Todorovski neither confirmed nor denied these claims. In response to a question about what DPM planned to do in connection with Casule's resignation, he first of all said that Casule's letter had arrived at the DPM together with the daily newspapers carrying it in its entirety, and that it had been sent to the wrong address, since according to the DPM's statute, Casule, as the DPM's delegate to the SPJ [Union of Yugoslav Writers], could only submit his resignation to those who elected him (the DPM assembly), or he could withdraw from the Presidium of the SPJ.



In a written statement that he provided to journalists Jordan Plevnes says in regard to Casule's letter that it is "a body of accusations that have no relation to the meaning of my metaphorical approach to the word 'revolution'," and that Casule was "taking away my right to revolutionary ideals." He further says, "The creative freedom and the legitimacy of the spiritual commitments that exist in socialist and self-managing Yugoslavia make it possible for me to choose my own revolutionary ideals, without anyone's intervention. No one has the right to a monopoly on the word 'revolution.'" Plevness only acknowledges that he "attacked the boring, hypocritical, narcissistic, unliterary, and interminably long and empty opening report by Kole Casule, by playing with the possessive pronouns 'our' and 'my.'"

In an interview, he denied any link between his speech and the events related to the performance based on his script. As proof, he cited the publicity given to his speech, which no one linked with the Sterija stage, just as no one had even seen what Casule did.

New excitement was aroused by the unannounced resignation of DPM Presidium member Vladimir Sopov. As the reason for his resignation, Sopov cited the 7 May meeting of the DPM Presidium, at which "President Gane Todorovski brutally, and contrary to the statute of the association, rejected my proposal to convene a joint meeting of all the delegates and guests at the congress of the Writers' Union... to discuss the participation and contribution of the Macedonian delegation to the congress," and stated that Gane Todorovski should "submit a written statement on the reasons and motives that caused his cowardly failure to go up to the podium at the congress." (In fact, it was planned that G. Todorovski would speak at the congress along with Milan Durcinov, but he only enclosed his speech.) According to Sopov, this had to do with another postwar "public sell-out of the spirit and reputation of the DPM by Gane Todorovski and Jordan Plevnes, who are secretly causing a new split among Macedonian writers and using this split for personal and careerist purposes." Gane Todorovski did not know about this resignation, although journalists had already been informed of it. The only thing that he would say was that the initiative for convening a special session of the DPM assembly had to come from a third of the members, and that according to the DPM statute, it was only in that case that the Presidium could convene a special assembly meeting.

Obviously, the Novi Sad congress did not end there for Macedonian writers. Events seem to be indicating new excitement. The question remains, however, of why Casule keep silent for so long; his letter appeared almost a month after the congress, and at the congress itself, he did not use his right to a rebuttal.

Casule was in Struga when the letter appeared in public, either because he felt that his letter said it all (which those who know him well doubt), or, which is more likely, because he was waiting for Plevnes's answer and the position of the DPM Presidium in order to put all his arguments on the table. He will have an opportunity for this at the scheduled meeting of the DPM Presidium.

In the end, the impression remains that even now only one thing is clear -- the uncertainty about how events will proceed.